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THE NEGRITUDE MOVEMENTS IN COLOMBIA

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THE NEGRITUDE MOVEMENTS IN COLOMBIA

A Dissertation Presented

by

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DEDICATION

To my wife, son (R.I.P), mother and siblings

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ABSTRACT

THE NEGRITUDE MOVEMENTS IN COLOMBIA

SEPTEMBER 2018

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Black politics is a diverse range of social practices, actions and thoughts through which subordinate groups, political figures, activists and artists negotiate power relations and propose alternatives to their forms of oppression. Negritude was the framework which facilitated the emergence of sites and forms of black politics in Colombia during the 70s. While the founders and leaders of the negritude movements -among them, Étiene Léro, Jules Monnerot, René Menil, Aimé Césaire, Léon Damas, Léonard Sainville, Aristide Maungée, the Achille brothers, Léopold Sedar Senghor, Osmane Sosé and Dirago Diop, from French colonies-, were thinking of "It is time for good Cuban Coffee and to say goodbye to negritude" and "to say hello to our Mother America and to the revolution that it has started here." Afrocolombians were organizing, appropriating and re-articulating old and new sites and forms of black politics to mobilize, display and re-fashion negritude discourses, not limited to black literature. This dissertation examines how sites and forms of black politics, that emerged during the 70s, developed and proposed anti-racist agendas by using negritude discourses. I call them a. black in the left;

b. the mestizo negritude; c, the liberal negritude; and d. de-subjugating black culture. Each of these sites and forms of black politics created and developed individual interpretative and explicative tools to reveal racial dominance and affirm blackness in Colombia. Each of these brought up conflicts and tensions by mobilizing agendas of the negritudes. From these dynamics of black politics, I conclude that although culture is a crucial tool for black liberation, culture by itself does not necessarily reconcile the tensions between class, political and gender differences. On the other hand, I conclude that politics should be understood as a *contingent and relational ensemble of actions and discourses* through which actors in difference positions negotiate power relations.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

MOIR	Movimiento Obrero Independiente y Revolucionario.
CICUN	Centro de Investigación de la Cultura Negra en Colombia.
The Consejo Nacional	Consejo Nacional de la Poblacion Negra Colombiana.

CHAPTER 1

THE SITES AND FORMS OF BLACK POLITICS

1. Introduction

In 1977, there was a major political and cultural debate that involved members from several sites and forms of black politics. They were afrocentric black organization CICUN, (Center for the study of Black culture); the siblings Zapata Olivella's web of relations and collaborations composed by black intellectuals, student groups, folklorists, dancers, and musicians; and the liberal Consejo Nacional (The Nacional Council for the Colombian Population). This debate occurred two years after the sugar cane cutter strike in Rio Paila Mills took place; months later after the first Congress of Black Culture in the America was held in Cali; a black political party, Movimiento de las Negritudes y el Mestizaje de Colombia", was launched in Medellin, and during the political presidency campaign of Juan Zapata Olivella. The debate was about the use of the term black culture, its adequacy to refer to black cultural expressions. Those involved in the debate were chocoano Nestor Emilio Mosquera, former participant of the Consejo Nacional, Amir Smith Cordoba and Rosa Amelia Uribe from CICUN and a black poet and novelist, Jorge Artel.

Néstor Emilio Mosquera, former member of the Consejo Nacional, published an article named "Ni cultura Negra ni candidatura negra" (Neither black culture nor Black Candidacy) in a national magazine, "Lecturas Dominicales". Néstor Emilio Mosquera

critiqued severely the common use of the term “black culture” by black intellectuals and activists at the time. He states,

> What is questionable is, to what extent we can continue talking about black culture. If we make an objective and critical analysis, we would have to confess and conclude that black culture does not exist. Culture is first and foremost a set of material and spiritual values created by man. Only man is able, in his contact with nature, to transform it into his own service independently of the color of the skin. (Néstor Emilio Mosquera Perea, Magazín, Lecturas Dominicales. Sept 4, 1977, p 1).

These critiques are based on an equation between black as color and race. Then, Néstor Emilio Mosquera considers that if we accept the existence of a racial culture is to accept racism; it is to accept that whites, blacks, and yellows form three distinct biological races and, consequently, three racial culture (Néstor Emilio Mosquera Perea, Magazín, Lecturas Dominicales. Sept 4, 1977, p 1). According to him, this is the time when black people should study black history to observe not only the cultural contributions that black communities have made to the Colombian nation but also the development of its current characteristics. If blacks do not study their culture legacies, and, instead, promote a black culture, we would be doing a reverse racism (Néstor Emilio Mosquera Perea, Magazín, Lecturas Dominicales. Sept 4, 1977, p 1).

Black intellectuals and activists responded strongly to Néstor Emilio Mosquera Perea’s intervention. In general, they disagreed with him. Rosa Amelia Uribe, a black woman activist from CICUN, agrees that the culture has no color; however,

> We are told about the culture we inherited from the 'mother country' (from Spain), that is, from European or Western culture or, in other words, from the culture of the white man and, to that nobody is opposed, it is something that has been universally accepted and who does not know that the European, has traditionally been characterized among other things by his racist approach? And how can we ignore that the West has managed to impose its culture not only on its own but also on the entire world and to the complete detriment of all those other manifestations that do not fit within the parameters established by them? (Uribe, 1977, p. 29).

Amir Smith Cordoba, former leader of CICUN also published an article in which he states,

> "No culture as such owns any color (and everyone knows that), but I will make it clear that black culture in Colombia and, why not say it, in the America, brings together tangible elements of what has been the African influence in the life of these peoples. Now, it would not have been wrong to continue speaking of African culture in Colombia, if we recognize that Colombia [is] completely outside of the geography of the African continent, (...)." (Smith-Córdoba, 1977, p. 5–7).

A final respond came from black poet Jorge Artel, who belonged to what I will describe later as a member of the siblings Zapata Olivella's web of relations and collaborations. Jorge Artel emphatically states,

> "In keeping with a strictly traditionalist concept of culture, Dr. Néstor Emilio Mosquera Perea does not see in these "cultural elements" that have produced "the cultural enrichment of the New World" an experience of culture itself that tends to transform the social and economic fact of the environment in which the phenomenon occurs. There is a black culture in America. It is the collection of the diverse traditions that in the matter of uses, customs, modes and environments, etc., transculturation has operated in us. That is why it is called in this way, which is a new way of expressing the essences."

In concrete, these interventions show three out of four sites and forms of black politics that I study in this dissertation. Together, they correspond to what I call black counterpublics in Colombia. Then, how can we understand this debate between black

activists in Colombia? What was the cultural and political context that explains these different positions towards black culture? What political agendas do reflect each of these interventions? How can we approach or study this type of phenomenon? And most importantly, how did it contribute to what today we understand as black social movements in Colombia? These are the questions I plan to respond in this dissertation by examining the sites and forms of black publics that emerged during the 70s and whose political agendas were fashioned within the framework of the negritude. They are four. I call them a. black in the left; b. the mestizo negritude; c, the liberal negritude; and d. De-subjugating black culture.

Black politics is a diverse range of social practices, actions and thoughts through which subordinate groups, political figures, activists and artists negotiate power relations and propose alternatives to their forms of oppressions (see Lao-Montes, 2010; Gregory, 1998; Omi and Winant,1994; Winant, 2001: Sawyer, 2006: and Hanchard, 2006). For my master thesis, I studied what I then called "black politics of folklore", understood as cultural practices, discourses, and political thoughts; black politics that sought to contest and to reveal the meaning of race in Colombia while affirming their blackness (Valderrama, 2014). At the end of this academic project, I realized that politics come from multiple sites and forms that are not restricted to political parties, state institutions, and social movements. Subsequently, I thought of the opportunity and urgent need to study alternative sites and forms of politics that have been overlooked by national and international scholars in Colombia. I understood the need to trace what I once call "historical trajectory of black struggles" in Colombia (Valderrama, 2012). I thought that

this may give us some crucial details about local, regional and national understanding of black politics, culture and identity. In this sense, I decided to give continuity to this project, and to shed some light on black politics, which I like to refer to as "*sites and forms of black politics*, that emerged in the 70s. I argue that they emerged to reveal how the Colombian society has been "structured in racial dominance" (Hall, 1980).

As I develop my arguments, I show how racialized human beings developed a series of collective actions and discourses to recuperate their humanity; their sense of community; and/or, to better say, to affirm re-signified forms of black peoplehood[1]. Like many other processes of black politics in the African Diaspora (Arboleda, 2016; Bracey el at., [1970] 1990; Caicedo, 2013; Hanchard, 2006; Hall, 1999; Lao-Monte, 2007 and 2012; and Rabaka, 2015), the process of identity formation and consciousness raising, through which Afrocolombians sought to affirm a black identity, is mostly a "*memory"* recovering out of their experiences in Colombia; constructions of blackness that helped politicize a black identity as an instrument not only to contest local and national forms of racism but also to struggle for justice and democratization of the social relations.

Negritude was the framework which facilitated such as "*racial project*"[2] during the 70s in Colombia. It provided the interpretative and explicative tools to reveal racial dominance and affirm blackness in Colombia. In fact, they used the language of negritude to define themselves; definition that did not conflicted with self-definition as

[1] For the idea of peoplehood see Wallerstein (1991).
[2] I use Omi and Winant's definition of racial project (1994). They define it as "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines." (Omi and Winant, 1994:56).

negro (black). While the leaders and promoters of the negritude movements (see chapter 2)-among them, Étiene Léro, Jules Monnerot, René Menil, Aimé Césaire, Léon Damas, Léonard Sainville, Aristide Maungée, the Achille brothers, Léopold Sedar Senghor, Osmane Sosé and Dirago Diop, from French colonies in the Caribbean and in the Africa-, were thinking of "It is time for good Cuban Coffee and to say goodbye to negritude" and "to say hello to our Mother America and to the revolution that it has started here." (Depestre, 1984: 272), afrocolombians were organizing, appropriating and re-articulating old and new sites and forms of black politics to mobilize, display and re-fashion those discourses of negritude to reorganize and redistribute resources among afrocolombians; redistribution of resources understood as symbolic and material resources.

As in other locations of the African diaspora, Afrocolombians displayed heterogeneous constructions of negritude with different political agendas and meanings. In Colombia, the negritude movements took different sites and forms of politics. Unlike the aesthetic movements in the Francophone world, in Colombia the negritude movements were not reduced to literature. In addition to it, they included black public spheres such as black tertulias, socio-cultural and political organizations. In this dissertation, I illustrate how afrocolombians used cultural (black culture and folklore), social (collective organizations) and political (liberalism) expressions of negritude as sites and forms of politics to articulate their own constructions of blackness.

2. Decentering Social Movement Theories and Perspectives

From different perspectives, social movement has been a central analytical category for the study of black social struggles in Colombia. The units of analysis have been "black urban grassroots organizations" (Valderrama, 2009), "black political parties" and "social organizations" (Agudelo, 2005), "rural and semi-rural black social movement organizations" (Hurtado, 2001; Escobar, 2008; Agudelo, 2005; and Wade, 1996), "hip hop organizations" (Wade, 1999), forms of "religious and urban cultural organizations" (Arboleda, 2001 and Valderrama, 2008), "trade unions, civic organizations and neighborhood associations" (Agudelo, 2005), and "anti-systemic movements" (Lao-Montes, 2010). From this understanding of black politics, national and international scholars agree upon the emergence of black social movements around the 80s when "Cimarron organization" appeared in the public scene as a national black organization in Colombia (e.g. Hurtado, 2001; Escobar, 2008; Agudelo, 2005; Castillo, 2007; Mullings, 2009; Oslender, 2001; Paschel and Sawyer, 2009; Paschel, 2016; and Wade, 1996 and 1999).

Accordingly, there were apparently no black social movements before the 80s. Any form of political and collective actions was considered small, scattered, unarticulated and individual actions or efforts which did not constitute a social movement in the strict sense of the category (e.g. Hurtado, 2001; Escobar, 2008; Agudelo, 2005; Castillo, 2007; Mullings, 2009; Oslender, 2001; Paschel and Sawyer, 2009; Paschel, 2016; and Wade, 1996 and 1999). As a consequence, none of the sites and forms of black

politics that existed before the 80s were not seriously considered. Thus, their political, cultural and social contributions to what is well-known today as black social movements or black political field were discarded or overlooked. In fact, scholars do not provide any information that explains why one of the most important laws in Colombia (Ley 70/1993), that sets the legal and political grounds for the recognition of Afrocolombians as an ethnic group and for the defense of their territorial rights, was initially well-known as the "Negritude Law" (Ley de Negritudes); whose name, in fact, provides insightful indicators of the significant role played by black activists who claimed their black identity and denounced racism by articulating negritude discourses during the 70s in Colombia.

I identify a twofold problem here. First, the sites and forms of black politics that occurred during the 70s have not been the central object/subject of study and/or analyses. Indeed, these studies focused mostly on black politics that occurred right before, during and after the Constitutional Reform of 1991. Second, although Colombia is a racialized society (Wade, 1993; Lasso, 2000; Pisano, 2013; Almario, 2010; and Goldberg, 2009), questions about black politics' contesting and challenging the meaning of race and racism are surprisingly missing in the above readings. In this sense, scholars have dedicated a great deal of studies on the ethno-cultural oriented cultural and political actions that constituted the black social movements, which may imply the existence of a raceless construction of black politics (Grueso, et al. 1998; Escobar, 2009; Castillo, 2007; and Restrepo, 2002: Hurtado, 2001; and Agudelo, 2005), leaving aside analysis of racial discourses within black politics.

The problem has been the centrality given to the category of social movement to explain black politics. Since the 70s, the analytical category has been used by historians, anthropologists, political scientists, social worker scholars, postcolonial and de-colonial theorists (although with some critiques) to study any form of politics (race, class, gender and sex) in Colombian, and in Latin America. Particularly, when scholars study black social movements in Colombia, they have focused mostly on massive forms of collective actions and organizations performing marches, strikes, occupations, riots, demonstrations, protests on and/or blocking streets, factories, universities, highways, etc. (see Escobar, 2009; Castillo, 2007; Hurtado, 2001; and Agudelo, 2005). One example of this theoretical limitation can be Prieto Pisano´s research on "Liderazgo Político Negro en Colombia, 1943-1964" (Pisano, 2012). This is an important research that examines the emergence of black political leadership from 1940 to 1960 in Colombia. Although Prieto Pisano describes significant black political actions in and out of the realm of politics, he states, "the period taken into consideration for this research is characterized by the absence of a movement of this minority (…)" (2012:24). Numbers matter in the study of social movements everywhere. Indeed, scholars measure the average number of protests, marches, strikes deployed by social movements (see Archila, 2003); or how many individuals social movements can mobilize through their social networks, supporters, social organizations, political and social allies, academics and public opinions (see McAdam, [1982]-1999; Tilly and Tarrow, 2007; and Tarrow, 2011).

The idea of politics is also restricted by some social movement perspectives. Now, politics is not limited or exclusive to political parties, state institutions or

corporations (Hanchard, 2009; Alvarez el at, 1998; Grueso, et al. 1998; and Escobar, 2009). However, the perspectives used to study social movements in Colombia see politics only in its relation to state institutions, and political party (Resource Mobilization, Political Process and Contentious Politics- McAdam, [1982]-1999; Tilly and Tarrow, 2007; and Tarrow, 2011). For a collective action to be recognized as political, its contentions politics must involve the presence of national State and of a third party (any other organizations or association) (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007; and Tarrow, 2011). The problem is that "most black struggles for civil rights and cultural recognition first emerged outside the formal spheres of political disputation, bourgeois or otherwise (colonial), outside the realm of political proper- the state in its administrative-legislative dimensions." (Hanchard, 2006). Take for example, "everyday forms of resistance" that are disregarded as such for so many scholars in the political science and sociology (see Kelley, 1994 and Hanchard, 2006)[3]. The same I can argue about public spaces where black oral traditions circulate; folkloric groups and artistic expressions -black theater, and small intellectual circles and cultural organizations. Like everyday practices of resistance, because of their (non-massive) forms of political mobilizations, and the physical absence of the State or third parties, these forms and sites of black politics are perceived as nonpolitical and, in the case of black politics of folklore, folklorized as picturesque, entertainment and traditionalism.

There is another perspective of social movements that recognize politics beyond the limits set by the contentious politics perspectives: "collective identity model" (see

[3] See also James Scott (2004) and Michel de Certeau (2002).

Melucci, 1999). Here, politics can be traced through the symbolic systems and democratic practices brought up by social movements to challenge power relations of dominations. They bring new democratic spaces away from traditional institutions of Politics. Unlike contentious politics, the collective identity model restricts social movements exclusively to the domain of the social relation, as Flórez (2010) analyzes. Then, the study of sites and forms of black politics such as "Consejo Nacional de la Poblacion Negra Colombiana" would have no analytical value, since their black politics were inscribed within the platform of political liberalism (electoral competition dynamics). Thus, there would be no capacities to create new democratic spaces and symbols within traditional party politic structures to challenge power. Accordingly, this site of black politics would be an expression of "Popular Movements" (Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe), "Socio-historical Movements" or "Old social struggles" like "Labor Unions" (Forewaker)[4]. Consequently, she states that this type of collective actions or movements are not modern, because they could not write their own "historicity" as Touraine has reported for European social movements (see Flórez, 2010; Escobar, 1992 and Valderrama, 2009)[5].

[4] See Flórez's critique (2010).

[5] According to Flórez (2010), scholars such as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Alberto Melucci and Alain Touraine, given the fact that Latin America social movements still struggle for access to education, health, jobs, peace, political participation, economic improvement, the basic needs (e.g. access to electricity, paved street, house, drinkable water), and have developed relationships with the state and political parties to fulfill their demands during the 80s and 90s, they were perceived as social movements in strict terms. For me, these types of demands and the relationships with State and political party do not diminish their capacity to propose alternatives to the way states, politicians and political parties perpetuate power relation. As Escobar (2008) has proven for the case of the Proceso de Comunidades Negras in Colombia, they have linked and put together an economic, social and political project that proposes alternative to modernity in Colombia from an overarching cultural field (Escobar, 2008).

Mainstream theories on social movements disregard the legacies of colonialism and how it articulates class, gender and race to regulate social relations in countries such as Colombia (Flórez, 2010). Thus, the form of power relations configured in Latin America, reveals the incapacity of the resource mobilization, political process and collective identity perspectives to comprehend the complexity of black politics (tactics, strategies, actions) in fighting and challenging the coloniality of power (Quijano, 1993) and its multiple ways of operations to subordinate Afrocolombians.

The sites and forms of politics, that I examine here, took place in a specific historical time. The 70s was a very convulsive period in Colombia and in Latin America. Scholars, who studied popular and social organizations during this time, state that massive cycles of protests (9.981 events) took place (Archila, 2003). They point out the variety of social and political actors protesting almost every day against social inequalities, labor exploitation, housing and urban services (e.g. water, electricity, paved roads, church, playgrounds, etc) (see Torres, 2007; Múnera, 1998; Arango, 1986; and Archila, 2003). These scholars focused on organizations such as leftist, labor, urban, peasant and student organizations; and armed guerrilla groups, that put the State and the political system of the National Front (a political regime between 1958-1974, in Colombia) into question (Archila, 2003; Torres, 2007; Gilhodès, 1970; and Múnera, 1998).

These organizations and politics were very much influenced by Marxist theories, the Cuban revolution and the Soviet Union from which they developed their anti-

imperialist practices and discourses against the United States of America (Archila, 2003 and Múnera, 1998). Somehow, being Marxist was not only matter of being anti-capitalism, it was also about being anti-US imperialism. However, these scholars did not say anything about the sites and forms of black politics. It is as if black politics did not exist or occur. In fact, there have always been black militants in the Colombian Left; nonetheless, there is almost nothing on how afrocolombians in the left brought up to the public their Marxist perspectives and opinions into discussions with black activists. For example, we do not know much about what the black left thought of those afrocolombians that affirmed blackness and culture, and of those who denounced racism. In this dissertation, I shed some light on what perception blacks in the left had about those who denounced racism and affirmed blackness.

We do not know much about black politics of the 70s, their sites and forms of articulations or disarticulations; or their disputes, debates, and conflicts around black identity and racism. The idea of social movements, as described above, restricts the observation of politics beyond the boundaries of state institutions, party politics, new social movements and contentious politics. Thus, I de-centered it as a central analytical category to study black politics in Colombia of the 1970s. Its theoretical and methodological limitations could make me ignore sites and forms of black politics that did not fulfill the above criteria. What I will analyze here is more about politics in the sense of the circulation of ideas, critical thoughts and discourses in subaltern counterpublics (Nancy Fraser, 1990 and 1992; Millie Thayer, 2010; Nikhil Pal Singh, 2004; and Michael Dawson, 2001). Thus, I drew on the idea of "subaltern

counterpublics" to propose "Sites and Forms of Black Politics" as an alternative approach to study black politics that emerged during the 70s in Colombia; because, as Singh (2004) sustains, "the public is less a concrete aggregation of persons than an ethical ideal and symbol construct that signifies the democratic institution of modern politics itself, to which the watch-words of 'publicity', 'public opinion' and above all, 'publication', attest. Intellectuals in turn can be understood to be among the primary producers of public discourses (…) knowledge that becomes a key stake in social and political struggle to conserve or transform that world" (Singh, 2004: 69).

To sum up, the sites and forms of black politics, that I will examine here, emerged in a political, social and cultural context characterized by the influence of Marxism (see Torres, 2007; Múnera, 1998; Arango, 1986; and Archila, 2003), mestizaje discourses (Wade, 1993; Lasso, 2000; Pisano, 2013; Almario, 2010; and Goldberg, 2009) and the political intervention against communism of the United States (see Torres, 2007; Múnera, 1998; Arango, 1986; and Archila, 2003). Then, the dissertation will analyze how the sites and forms of black politics deployed public actions to circulate racial discourses anchored in Negritude discourses that functioned as a catalyzer of diverse and oppositional racial projects that sought to affirm blackness and to reveal forms of racial oppressions.

The key question I answered in this dissertation is: by using and re-fashioning negritude discourses, what sites and forms of politics did afrocolombians articulate and deploy to make their political agendas of negritude public in a political context characterized by mestizo and Marxist discourses and the US political interventions in

Colombia? To answer this question, I, first, mapped sites and forms of black politics. Here, I focus mainly on four sites and forms of black politics. They are: a. Blacks in the Left; b. The Mestizo Negritude; c. The Liberal Negritude; and d. De-subjugating Black Culture. Their empirical value lies in their capacity to articulate: a. racial discourses to affirm black identities and to reveal racism, and b. to articulate old and new sites and forms of black politics (such as Palenque Literario, folkloric groups -dance and music, Literature -poems, novels, and essays-, Tertulias, black theaters and Student Groups).

Second, I examine each of the above sites' political agendas of negritude, and third, I analyze the conflicts and tensions brought up by the development of negritude discourses among afrocolombians. Blacks in the left, the mestizo negritude; the liberal negritude; and de-subjugating black culture allow me to show how black activists constructed black counterpublics or counter-discourses whose social, political and cultural contributions made the emergence of an Afrocolombian discursive framework of race possible with two characteristics; (1) references to identify racism in Colombia and (2) to represent blackness in Afrocolombians' terms.

As result, I argue that what these sites and forms of black politics constituted was what I would like to call an alternative structure of black politics understood as an autonomous subaltern domain of black politics that derived from their desires and projects to produce new racial representations of themselves - "historicity"- and to contest the meaning of race in Colombia, despite their distinct modes of black subalternity. As I will show below, Afrocolombian discursive field of racial politics was

constituted by tensions and/or alignments with other discourses (Marxism, liberalism, folklore, mestizaje, UNESCO, US intervention) to produce concrete, contested and local (Colombian) forms of blackness. Thus, this alternative structure of black politics set the tone for subsequent sites and form of black politics; their way of self-representation and political, cultural and social participations in the public. By examining black politics that emerged during the 70s, I shed some lights on how what today scholars name "black political field" (see Lao-Montes, 2007, and 2010; and Paschel, 2016) had its initial structure formation from the political dynamic of the 70s. However, unlike Arboleda (2016), Caicedo (2013) and Valderrama (2014), in Colombia; Nikhil Pal Singh (2004), Baker (1995) and Michael Dawson (1995 and 2001), in United States; and Hanchard (1995) in Brazil, I am not interested in studying the formation of the black political field from the point of view of black intelligentsia. The present dissertation should contribute to the theoretical and empirical meaning of politic, culture and identity from the Colombian perspective.

3. Black Counterpublics: Sites and Forms of Black Politics

Flórez (2010) suggests three alternatives for those of us who find the category of social movement problematic and limited. According to her, in Latin America, (1) scholars measure if a collective action fulfills the criteria established by social movement perspectives. (2) Others omit those social movement criteria and study social movements from a historiographic perspective; and (3) some others have chosen to theorize social movements according to the specificities of Latin America context. Flórez situates her

academic project between the second and third alternatives. She states that omitting social movement criteria and studying them by considering the specificities of Latin America, we can change the terms of discussion; “not so much to search for new ways of naming them (e.g. popular movements), but to rethink the way we are understanding modernity, its crisis and, therefore, the potential of the region's movements to face it.” (Flórez, 2010: 81). I agree with Flórez on changing the term of discussions when studying collective actions in Latin America, and in Colombia. However, I situate my research in a different alternative perspective from hers. I refuse to choose any of the three alternatives that she lays out. For this research, I did not use the category of social movement at all to develop my analysis. I found it limited to study sites and forms of politics that do not constitute social or political organizations or those that established a relationship with political parties or state institutions (see above), or even sites of black politics that at first sight seem to be small, scattered and made up of isolated individuals. Here, I draw on scholars such as Nancy Fraser (1990 and 1992), Millie Thayer (2010), Nikhil Pal Singh (2004), and Michael Dawson, (2001) to propose the study of black politics by defining the concept of “Sites and Forms of Black Politics”. I argue that this conceptualization of politics permits a more fluid and flexible approach to study black politics than any other conceptual definition (e.g. social movements and Political Field); especially, when studying black politics from a historical perspective. Accordingly, counterpublics is “broader, more internally heterogeneous, and less coherent than the term 'social movement' usually implies. Their boundaries are defined, not by fully shared strategic visions, but by the choices of social actors to engage with one another in some form, however partial or tentative” of social relation (Thayer, 2010:27).

My idea of sites and forms of black politics relies heavily on Nancy Fraser's subaltern counterpublics proposition (1990 and 1992). From a feminist perspective, she defines subaltern counterpublics as those alternative publics that "are parallel discursive arena where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter-discourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs." (Fraser, 1990:67). Accordingly, in these publics, "feminist women have invented new terms for describing social reality. It included 'sexism'. 'the double shift', 'sexual harassment', and 'marital, date, and acquaintance rape'" (Fraser, 1990:67). Millie Thayer uses this definition for her study on the making of transnational feminism (Thayer, 2010). For her, counterpublics constitute "an oppositional space in which networks, organizations, and individuals who share certain values or identities engage with one another around a core theme. (…) Their members articulate collective identities, debate discourses and strategies, and construct alternatives forms of social relations with one another. These forms of activist culture serve both as means of and as preparation for engaging with dominant public spheres." (Thayer, 2010:2). Therefore, I find analytical value on this perspective, because subaltern counterpublics, as studied by these feminist scholars, emerge in response to exclusions within dominant publics and "they help expand discursive spaces" (Fraser, 1990).

My definition of sites and forms of black politics draws from these definitions of subaltern counterpublics. However, I study subaltern counterpublics where racial matters are discussed (Dawson, 2001). As I show below, this counterpublics like their counterparts in other part of the African Diaspora emerged because of racial stratification

(Hanchard, 2006). As Dawson states, the racial order and its ideological components served to "exclude African Americans both formally and informally from participating within the American bourgeois public sphere" and from those "subaltern counterpublics such as those associated with the labor, populist and women's movements of the late-nineteenth century" (Dawson, 2011: 27- see also Singh, 2004 and Baker, 1995). In these spheres, Afrocolombians have had racial obstacles (e.g. "racism", "racial representation and stereotypes", "cultural and racial invisibility", "silence" and "racial discredits") to find "the right voice or words to express their thoughts, and when they do, they discover they are not heard. [They] are silenced, encouraged to keep their wants inchoate, and heard to say 'yes' when what they have said is 'no'" (Fraser, 1992:119/quotation marks and brackets from the original).

The advantage of this concept lays in its flexibility to understand politics. It allows me to trace sites and forms of black politics that do not fit into social movement theories; especially, those related to cultural and folkloric expressions (music, dance, oral tradition) and tertulias. By using black counterpublics as an alternative and less rigid perspective to study black politics, I can show a much longer trajectory of black politics before the 80s, which includes literature, music, dance groups, conferences, congresses, etc. These are sites and forms of black politics that engaged a variety of forms and counter discourses to produce ideas, discourses and thoughts about race and racism. Although, counterpublics is an alternative space; it emerges as a different and an autonomous relational dynamic from state apparatus, economic markets and political parties (Fraser, 1990: 57); they are not entirely separated from them (Thayer, 2010). They

are some nodes (sites) and discursive domains (forms) where social, political and institutional actors meet to discuss issues of race, gender, class and sexuality from a different subaltern positions or political subjectivities (see Lao-Montes, 2007).

What constitutes black counterpublics are their articulations with multiple subaltern public spheres. For example, Fraser, (1990) points out the diverse array of feminists "journals, bookstores, publishing companies, film and video distribution networks, lecture series, research centers, academic programs, conferences, conventions, festivals, and local meeting places." (Fraser, 1990:67); Thayer (2010) remarks, among other, national and international grassroots organizations, NGOs, feminist intellectuals, experts, politicians and left activists and supports of what she defines as the web of transnational relations that constitutes the "transnational feminist counterpublics'; web of transnational relationship that is "linked both by relations of power and by bonds of solidarity." (Thayer, 2010:7).

Michael Dawson (2001) lists six (6) black public spheres. They are: a. Radical Egalitarianism; b. Disillusioned Liberalism; c. Black Marxism; d. Black Conservativism; e. Black feminism; and f. Hip Hop (rap); and Singh (2004) remarks on all the organizations, intellectual circles and art movements that were part of what he calls "the long civil rights era". Like these, there are other black public spheres that may be considered as such. For example, cultural practices of "religious nationalism" (Bracey el at., [1970] 1990), black jazz, gospel and blues in the United States (Reed, 2005); Rastafarianism in Jamaica (Hall, 1985); hip hop culture in the United States, Cuba,

Brazil, South Africa, Colombia and the United Kingdom (Codrington, 2009; and Perry, 2009); funk music in Brazil (Hanchard, 1994); black literature in Cuba (Prescott, 1996) and the United States (Dawson, 2001); paintings in the United Kingdom (Hall, 2006); black folklore (Valderrama, 2014); and cinema productions in the Caribbean (Hall, 1999).

What articulates this variety of black publics spheres is their agendas against racism; their common interests to change racial conditions of subordinations. Paradoxically, what articulates them at some point also separate them. These sites and forms of politics develop different political agendas, allies, resources, purposes or ideologies to struggle against racial domination. Emphasis on class, region of origin, dimension of the reality (eg. Culture, economic, social and politics), allies or access to resources situate black public spheres apart from each other. In many instances, these differences provoke rupture and conflicts between black pubic spheres. That is why I do not assume every black public sphere facing the same form of oppressions or having the same racial projects. As the reader will see, individual experiences and subjectivities will shape the type of political agenda or racial project deployed by each of these black public spheres within the black counterpublics.

My contribution to the analysis of black counterpublics stands from the historical experience of Afrocolombians. This counterpublic is made up of what I call Sites and Forms of Black Politics. Sites, understood as socially constructed spaces or spheres where afrocolombians have developed social relationships and connections such as

collective actions, social organizations, political parties, and groups; conferences, congresses, meetings, academic circles, and conventions; coffee societies; black theaters, social networks and meshworks; festivals, and those local, regional, national, and international places that function as point of encounters, articulations, debates or separations among afrocolombians. These are sites of black politics because they are the place where individual or collective thoughts, ideas or projects meet to be discussed, scrutinized, discarded, supported, and reinforced or changed or modified. Despite their varieties and differences, each of these sites or social relationships aims to achieve common objectives; objectives that may or may not differ from one another in their political, social and cultural strategies. In any case, they seek to solve or change what they, individually, perceived as problematics deriving from the racial structure of power.

For these scholars, what I call Sites of black politics constitute "subaltern public spheres" in contrast to bourgeoisie public spheres (Habermas, 1991). It was an alternative to the analytical impossibility of Habermas to recognize public spheres different from bourgeoisies' (Fraser, 1990 and 1992; Thayer, 2010; and Dawson, 2001). Despite their valid critiques against Habermas' idea of bourgeoisie public spheres, they all are trapped in the modern construction of public spheres where literacy is fundamental to understand the circulations of ideas, thoughts and debates. In this regard, they did not consider oral tradition as a mean of communication and articulations of ideas, thoughts and discussions. In this dissertation, I describe what I call Palenque Literario. It is a black public sphere that does not fit in the idea of subaltern counter publics. Thus, my idea of sites of black politics allows me to consider not only the public spaces created around

black oral traditions but also their political cultural thoughts and philosophical productions (see below).

Forms of black politics refer to domains of struggle. The domain can be of culture (religiosity, folklore, music, values, meanings, symbols, representations, discourses, etc.); of the national political system (governance, political party, elections, voting, public opinions, etc.); of social relations (norms, behaviors, social institutions, rules, etc.); or of the economy (market, capital, industry, etc.). The history of the African diaspora political struggles reports that black politics have taken place in each of these domains (see Dawson, 2001; Singh, 2004; Bracey el at., [1970] 1990; and Reid, 2007). These domains are not separate from each other. We know already that they interconnect and influence on one another in multiple ways. In fact, new social movements have taught us that by deploying actions in the domain of culture, a social group can change the meaning of an action developed in the domain of politics, for example, democratic participation (Melucci, 1999).

The forms of black politics that I study in this dissertation are situated in three of the above domains. They are of culture, of social, of the economy, and of politics. As I show below, afrocolombians deployed their black politics by creating sites of politics (collective actions, social organizations, political parties, and groups; conferences, congresses, meetings, academic circles, and conventions; coffee societies; black theaters, social networks) within domains of culture (black politic of folklore, and De-Subjugating Black Culture); of social (Black in the Left) and of politics (Black Liberalism). Like any

other black counterpublics in the African diaspora, these sites and forms of black politics had moments of articulations, debates, and separations (Dawson, 2001; Singh, 2004). Thus, despite their different agendas, the emergence of these sites and forms of black politics were defined by how they shared racial exclusions as a source of black community, and by increasingly effective practices of symbolic representation in which black activists, intellectuals, musicians, and politicians claimed to give voice to the identities and interests of restive afrocolombians (see Singh, 2004:68).

The above sites and forms of black politics constitute what I call the alternative structure of black politics. Like the alternative structure of politics described by (Brewer, 1982), this is an alternative structure of politics that emerge autonomously as result of racial exclusion and discrimination from and of impediments of the national political system to mobilize state actions and public policies to resolve racial issues in Colombia. In this sense, the alternative structure of politics for Afrocolombians functions as a subaltern counterpublics where matters of race are debated, confronted and discussed. Thus, the sites and forms of black politics that I study here become parallel and autonomous structures of politics for Afrocolombians whose racial projects have not resonated in the Colombian national political system.

The meaning of race is crucial for my study. I use the concept of racial formation to trace the "sociohistorical processes by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (Omi and Winant: 1996:56) in Colombia. This perspective is based on the US racial dynamics. However, it offers valuable analytical tools to

understand race and racism as a "matter of both social structure and cultural representation" (Omi and Winant, 1996:56). I use Omi and Winant's definition of racial projects to delineate the interpretations, representations, or explanations of racial dynamics that individuals and/or groups produce as an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines. Nonetheless, their understanding of politics and conflict needs to be re-formulated in term of what constitute the particularities of the 'black-life world' (Hanchard, 2006) in Colombia. That is, their definitions of politics are like those of social movement theories explained above.

In contrast to the US history of racial formation that went from legal and overt institutionalized racism -Jim Crow system and white supremacy- to a color-blind society (Omi and Winant, 1996), Colombia has been built as a racial system that denies racism. In fact, the meaning of race is, particularly, complex; and its complexity makes it also difficult to delineate racial conflicts that takes place in the discursive field of afrocolombian racial politics. Race is and is not about skin color (Hanchard, 1994). Race is also a matter of culture as the racist culture[6] in Colombia has been (whitening) defined as mestiza at the expenses of black cultural presence. Hence, culture and skin color have been articulated to dominate and preserve a racial rule and the power of the ruling class in Colombia. In this sense, if a "racialized social system" is a society in which economic, political, social, and ideological levels are structured by the placement of actors in racial categories or races (Bonilla-Silva, 2001), Colombia has been organized as a racialized

[6] My idea of racist culture draws on David Theo Golberg. He defines it as ideas, attitudes and dispositions, norms and rules, linguistic, literary, and artistic expressions, architectural forms and media representations, practices and institutions (Goldberg, 1993: 8).

social system by denying, in public and official spheres, the existence of racism as form of oppression. Anyone who would speak publically about racism or racial grievances/conflicts become the subject of criminalization, uprooting and exile (since 1800 century -see Lasso, 2007) and of social censorship/rejection around 1960 towards the present days (Friedemann, 1986). Thus, silently, white politicians, intellectuals and elites could set in motion a "structure of alterity" (Wade, 1997:36) based on racial categories; a society structured in racial dominance that advocates indigenous -ambiguously- and Europeans heritages as the cornerstone of the Colombian national identity and the denial of blackness as a component of the national identity until recently (1991).

Mestizaje became racially hegemonic (Hanchard, 1994:56) in Colombia by denying its presence and by enduring its terrible effects expressed in racial subordination. Forms of racialization, classification, hierarchization, exclusion and degradation have been produced against black communities, yet dissociated from the meaning of race and racism as discriminatory practices (see chapter 2). Thus, I approach race and racism in Colombia as modern discursive practices that deny its own existence in public and official spheres as core political instruments by which Colombian society has been 'structured in dominance' (Hall, 1980), and whose effects have been the endurance of racist practices and racial inequality in a capitalist formation[7].

[7] Currently, we can argue that this racial dynamic has changed. The Colombian State and some of its citizens have recognized the existence of racism. However, I would say that this recognition does not include the existence of a structural view of it. The common understanding of racism is reduced to racial relations.

An example of this can be the myth of racial harmony in the period right after the wars for independence -around 1810- 1900- (Lasso, 2007 and Munera, 2008); the mestizo nation -around 1920-1991- (Wade, 1993)[8] and, recently, multiculturalism. I understand these as racial projects that white patriots, elites, politicians and intellectuals have articulated as discursive field of racial politic from above (see Lasso, 2007; Wade, 1993; Almario, 2010 and Munera, 2008). For this study, I will focus mainly on the time when the mestizo racial project took place around the 70s in Colombia. As I will show below, the sites and forms of black politics developed their discursive field of racial politics to contest the meaning of race and racism in Colombia. Their strategies consisted of affirming blackness as part of national identity, which in fact changed the term of inclusion as black people decided how to be included (by the presence of black identity not its absence), and revealed the existence of racism in Colombia.

This racial logic is essential to comprehend the emergence and constitution of the black counterpublics in Colombia. Black counterpublics reflect the partial inclusion/exclusion of the black communities in Colombia. That is, discursively included, but empirically excluded from full citizenship, social and political participation rights up to the point that Castillo (2007) describes it as an abstract inclusion and concrete exclusion. Unlike the racial dynamic that caused the emergence of black counterpublics in the US (Singh, 2004; and Dawson, 2001), black counterpublics in Colombia emerged out of the web of relations and spaces situated into the racial dynamic produced by the

[8] Wade states, "the possibility of seeing in nationalist discourse about race mixture both a celebration of mixture and a discrimination against black and Indians are a characteristic of the contradictory coexistence of mestizaje and discrimination in Colombia society" (Wade, 1993: 19).

denial/endurance of race and racism; and racial inclusion/exclusion since the beginning of the Colombian republic, not after the civil rights era. Likewise, this tension and ambiguity characterizes the variety of black subordinations of black political intellectuals and activists and artists in Colombia.

Black counterpublics emerged out of several contradictory spaces and dynamics. First, black political intellectuals participated in non-conventional and autonomous spaces such as meeting in coffees houses, living rooms of hotels, festivals and tours in the Pacific region and Caribbean coast to meet other black intellectuals and politicians and to formulate, invigorate, exchange and promote their thoughts, ideas and actions. They also produced and held conferences, congresses and seminars; they created social, cultural and political organizations with electoral purposes; and they created networks and webs of relations and collaborations to articulate and circulate their projects and agendas.

I understand the creation of black counterpublics is a historical process by which black political intellectuals, activists, politicians and artists could network, connect and debate and rejects black projects and agendas from dominant and subaltern sites and forms of politics at the national and meso levels. It has been a web of institutionalized, mestizo dominated and autonomous relations and spaces that reveal the tensions and contradictions linked to the racial logic that denies/endures race and racism, and includes/excludes black communities from certain social, cultural, political and economic benefits. Thus, although it seems that black politics took place in mestizo and white public spheres, what characterize its subalternity refers to the unequal conditions of

power in which black politicians, activists, intellectuals, and artists negotiate power relations to formulate oppositional interpretations of their racial identities, interests, and needs; it is a subaltern space because it is the result of the racial dynamics of Colombia which reveals the ambiguous and contradictory cultural, political, economic and social conditions of racial exclusion/inclusion of black communities. As I will describe, this process of black counterpublic formation reveals the racial contradiction of inclusion/exclusion of blacks in Colombia but also the contradictions and divisions within the state (Jessop, 2009) which opened possibilities for black political intellectuals to enter the Colombian state and white dominated spaces, even though they were trivialized and degraded (Arboleda, 2011).

4. On Data and Methodology

This study departed from a critical and relational sociohistorical perspective. While I paid attention to structural processes such as racial formations in Colombia, I also considered international racial dynamics that converged at the local, regional and global levels. So, I could recognize contradictions and ambiguities in the local, regional and national dynamics of black politics but also between local and global dynamics of black agency. In this sense, I tried to go beyond national boundaries to understand black counterpublics in Colombia.

I approached the study of sites and forms of black politics in Colombia as part of the *process and condition* that gave birth to African diasporic projects (Patterson and

Kelley, 2005): “As a process [the African diaspora] is constantly being remade through movement, migration, travel, and imagined through thought, cultural production, and political struggle. Yet as condition, it is directly tied to the process by which it is being made and remade . . . the African diaspora exists within the context of global race and gender hierarchies”. I also drew on Lao Montes (2005) definition of African diaspora as a “project of affinity and liberation” founded on a trans-local ideology of community-making and a global politics of decolonization anchored on discourses of negritude. Accordingly, “The African Diaspora can be conceived as a project of decolonization and liberation embedded in the cultural practices, intellectual currents, social movements, and political actions [also sites and forms of black politics] of Afro-diasporic subjects. The project of diaspora as a search for liberation and transnational community-making is grounded on the conditions of subalternization of Afrodiasporic peoples and in their historical agency of resistance and self-affirmation. As a project the African diaspora is a north [and sought], a utopian horizon to Black freedom dreams.” (Lao Montes, 2005:310).

In this sense, I recognized the 70s as a convulsive historical period characterized by increasing violent state and insurgent actions animated by international Marxist discourses, radical conservatism, UNESCO and the US interventions in Latin America (see chapter 2). On the other hand, the 70s marked a period of global sites and forms of afrodiasporic politics articulated in local, regional, national and global forms of Pan Africanism (e.g. negrismo, negritude, colonializations, and its variants -afro-centrism, africanity, blackness and creolization) (see Lao Montes, 2005; Walters, 1993; Arboleda,

2016; Caicedo, 2013; Hanchard, 2006: and Hall, 1999). For this study, I implemented a qualitative research method of analysis (Lawrence, 2007) to interpret the data collected during my field work in Colombia. It lasted one and half years (from January 2015 to May 2016) time during which I used two techniques to collect primary data: semi structured interviews and archival research (Lawrence, 2007). To complement my primary data, I used secondary data published in articles and books. The distribution of the primary and secondary data is as follows.

My initial strategy to contact former participants was by going back to my old interviewees I contacted when I did my master thesis (2014). They put me in contact with some black activists and intellectuals who were former participants of the sites and forms of black politics under study here. From that point on, I asked my interviewees again and again for other well-known former activists and intellectuals they knew of. Based on their suggestions, I decided to contact those who my interviewees agreed upon. My other strategy was to consult black and white mestizo intellectuals that have conducted studies of black social movements to help me identify those black activists, intellectuals and arties who participated or know of the negritude movements in Colombia. For this, I talked to Professors Santiago Arboleda, Jose Caicedo, William Mina, Alfredo Vanin, Elizabeth Castillo, Carlos Alberto Velasco, Carlos Castillo, Jaime Arocha, and Harold Viafara. Then, again, I contacted those black activists and intellectuals they agreed upon. My interviewees have different backgrounds. They were men and women, aging from 50 to 70 years old. They are folklorists, intellectuals, politicians, activists from Cali, Puerto Tejada, Buenaventura, Bogotá, San Andres; Chocó, Cartagena, Barranquilla, Puerto

Tejada, Jamundí, among others.

I conducted more than 150 hundred interviews with open-ended questions. I did not establish any specific number of interviews before my field work. I decided to go with the flow of my field work to determine when was the right time to stop. I went to Bogotá, Quibdó, Popayan, Buenaventura, Palmira, Zarzal, Jamundí, north of Cauca, among other towns and cities to contact folklorist, musicians, activists, intellectuals, and politicians. I called some others by phone in Barranquilla, Medellin and Germany. Finally, I exchanged emails with Lawrence Prescott, African American intellectual who participated in black politics in Colombian since the 1970s in Bogotá. Initially, I interviewed black folklorists, musicians, and well known political figures. However, they did not give me what I was looking for, because they were not former participants of the organizations I chose to focus on. Little by little I got on track and was able to contact those I thought were former participants.

I used the interview data to map (see Lao-Montes, 2010) sites and forms of black politics that they remembered or knew about. I asked my interviewees about coffee societies, social, cultural and student organizations. Then, I asked about the political, social and cultural agendas of these sites and forms of black politics. I realized there were too many to be studied in one research; so, I chose four: a. CICUN; b. Consejo Nacional; c. MOIR; and d. what I call, the cultural platform of the siblings Zapata Olivella (see description below). These organizations were the most visible sites of black politics at the time and, in many ways, stablished a sort of relationship not only among them but also

with other sites of black politics that I mentioned along this dissertation.

Once the sites and forms of black politics were selected, I asked my interviewees for bibliographical materials that they might have or know of. In this respect, several of the interviewees gave me personal and organizational photos, documents, articles, academic monographs, flyers, and bulletins. For example, I had access to the achieves of Cimarron thanks to its former leader, Juan de Dios Mosquera; Eusebio Camacho, one of the founder of Soweto group now Cimarron (see description below), gave me personal manuscripts and some editions of the bulletin "Soweto". Edgar Ruiz, also member of Soweto and current and active member of Cimarron in Pereira, provided me with some other editions of Soweto bulletin[9].

I found valuable materials in Soweto-Cimarron archives about the process, debates and conflicts that led Soweto to become Cimarron organization in the 80s. I am stunned at the cultural, political and social activities and public events held by this organization during this period and overlooked by scholars. It is urgent, and it will be my next academic project, to examine carefully the activities and events realized by this organization specifically during the 80s, because it will give us more detail about the alternative structure of black politics before the constitutional reform in 1991. After this Constitution, this structure of politics went through some significant changes (from racial identity to ethnic construction of blackness). I had also access to the archives of Consejo

[9] Cimarron is a national black organization that emerged around the 83s in Colombia. first, Cimarron was a student group dynamic composed by black students that came from several areas of Colombia, Buenaventura, Quibdó, Puerto Tejada, etc. Initially, as a student group, Cimarron was called Soweto as homage of the terrible events in Soweto, sought Africa around mid 70s.

Nacional. This archive corresponds to the minutes and reports produced under the leadership of Luis Enrique Dinas Zape, from 1983 on. Like the data I collected from Cimarron, this archive gives us more insight of the turn Consejo Nacional took in the 80s. Hence, I did not use these data for the present dissertation report.

As I detail below, blacks had a significant participation in the Left. Here, I paid specific attention to blacks in MOIR (Movimiento Obrero Independiente Revolucionario). I talked to former secretary of this organization in Cali, Gorge Gamboa, and former director of the MOIR's theater, Alvaro Arcos. Both white-mestizo. The former, gave me a music production named "Cantos del Cañal", some photos of their political campaigns ran in popular neighborhoods of Cali, and a small book dedicated to the sugar cane struggles in the Valle del Cauca. I included these material into the present dissertation except the photos. The latter, Alvaro Arcos, gave me the written plays used to perform sugar cane situations during the 70s in the same area. I included and analyzed these bibliographical materials in this dissertation.

My interviewees pointed out important events (national encounters and Congresses) that I could trace in local and national newspapers. There were "El Tiempo" and "El Espectador", whose coverage is national, and local newspaper such as "El Pais", and "El Caleño" from Cali, and "El Heraldo" from Barranquilla. I consulted these local and national newspapers for specific references pointed out by the interviewees or cited in bibliographical materials produced by them. Thus, I specifically collected newspaper-notes and news that reported public events held by the social, cultural and political sites

and forms of black politics of Colombia.

From my interviews, I could identify also the bibliographical productions of former leaders and participants of the sites and forms of black politics. For example, Valentin Moreno Zalazar, former leader of Consejo Nacional, published a book, "Negritudes", in 1995. This is a 400 hundred-pages book that compiled minutes, reports and letters that describe public events, "encounters, and meetings held by the organization during the 70s in cities such as Bogotá, Cali, Quibdó, Tumaco, Jamundí, Barranquilla and Medellín. In this book, there are also letters exchanged between former members of the organization and between them and supporters. Likewise, I had access to "Negritude" Journal (three editions) and "Presencia Negra" newspaper published by CICUN from 1976 to around 1998. Finally, I traced some of the works the siblings Zapata Olivella did. Out of these materials, I consulted the period subject of study in this study. With these archives, I complemented the information obtained from my interviews about the sites and forms of black politics; their social, cultural and political agendas and public events; and, finally, their issues and political differences subject of debate and conflict. As to my use of secondary data, I draw on studies and researches to provide contextual background of Colombia. I used it to specify how Colombian society has been "structured in racial dominance; to provide political, social and cultural context of the 70s; and to map the sites and forms of black politics that emerged previous the 70s.

The analysis procedure was as fallows. I hired two women to transcribe the interviews and newspaper news and notes to digital work documents. Then, I used N-

vivo software to code the interviews and archival data by analytical categories. The categories were: a. sites and sites of black politics; b. Black Political Agendas that made negritude discourses public; and c. Conflicts and Tensions brought up by negritude discourses among sites and forms of black politics. Thus, I interpreted and analyzed the data as follows. For my first analytical category, I coded terms, words, and phrases that imply social and relational spaces such as collective actions groups, organizations, political parties, social networks; public events, conferences, congress, meetings. For my second analytical category, I coded terms, words, and phrases that refers to negritude discourse. Here, I paid attention to ideas and concepts such as black identity, black culture, and political agendas and their implied meanings of race, and racism. Finally, I coded terms, words, phrases, opinions, and perceptions that refer to how they former participants of these sites and forms of back politics critiqued or responded to critiques made by former participants of their own individual political, social and cultural agendas of negritude.

On Terminology. Today, there are a significant number of nomenclature to refer to black communities. They are, Raizal, which means those natives of the San Andres; Palenqueros refers specifically to those descendants of San Basilio de Palenque in the Colombian Caribbean; Negro refers to black people; Afrocolombian is the new term produced out of the constitutional Reform. It aims to recognize African descendants. In some instances, Afrocolombian refers to black people; however, mulattoes and mestizo may use it as a way of political identification with blacks. Finally, Afro-descendant refers to descends of Africans. Like afrocolombian, this term does not refer exclusively to black

people. Despite this plurality of nomenclature, I use tow terms interchangeably in this dissertation report. Black and Afrocolombian. These two term are important. The former was the language, black activists of the negritude used at their time. So, in most cases, I conserved their languages, phrases and terms to preserve the meaning that they attributed to it. I use afrocolombian to situate the population of black people in Colombia. In any case, afrocolombian is a political term introduced later during the 90s through which black people became subjects (Paschel, 2016). However, because of the complexity of the racial terminology and the debates it has created between mestizos, blacks and mulattos, in some cases I specify the color of the interlocutor to give much better context to the discussions.

5. Chapter Organization

This dissertation is organized by three sections that agglutinates 10 chapters. Section 1 includes chapter 2, 3 and 4. In the first, I analyze three major aspects of the cultural and political context in which black counterpublics emerged: a. the racial formation in Colombia; the Marxist ideological context; and c. the emergence of the negritude movements in Paris. Chapter 3 and 4 deal with the sites and forms of black politics previous the 70s. This survey of the sites and forms of black politics was made from a historical perspective. Section 2 includes chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. For each chapter, I examine the main sites and forms of black politics that constituted the black counterpublics during the 70s. Chapter 5 deals with black in the left. Chapter 6 emphases on the mestizo negritude. Chapter 7 focuses on the liberal negritude. And, chapter 8 pays

attention to the de-subjugating black culture project. The final section includes one chapter, number 9. This chapter is about tensions and conflicts brought up by the negritude discourses in Colombia. the final chapter (10) highlights some important conclusions that I observe throughout the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

COLOMBIA; A SOCIETY STRUCTURED IN RACIAL DOMINANCE

In this chapter, I provide some aspects of the racial, political, social and cultural context within which sites and forms of black politics emerged. By using secondary data, I want to describe how race and racism structured Colombia in racial dominance; the political context in which the Marxist discourses became radicalized in Colombia because of the cold war and the USA anti-communist interventions in Latin America. My aim here is to highlight some key points of the cultural, social and political forces that contextualize and shape the emergence of the black counterpublics in Colombia.

1. Publically Denied, Daily Practiced: Racial formation in Colombia

In this section, I outline some of the *chameleonic modalities* through which race and racism have operated in Colombia so that the readers can make sense of the social struggles mobilized by black communities against racism. I will do it from a historical perspective. I cover continuities, similarities, rupture and differences of the meaning of race since war of independence until 1970s. I argue that the Colombian society have produced and re-produced historical racial mechanisms and discourses that have contributed with the denial of racism as a vivid force that shapes social structure in Colombia while allowing the entire population of Colombia, including blacks and mulattos, to perpetuate a racial structure of inequality by committing and practicing systematic daily forms of racism.

The particularity of the racial formation in Colombia has been its public denial (State Institutions, laws and public policies, for instance Jim Crow system and Apartheid) and its everyday practice of reproduction and endurance. In the mid of this contradictory denial/reproduction/endurance of racial structure, emerges the "racial strategic selectivity"[10] of the Colombian State. While the Colombian State promotes national unity or identity under the rubric of mestizaje, it denies the existence of racism. Then, the denial of racism leaves the Colombian state in a perfect position to dismiss any racial demands and/or grievances raised by afrocolombians. Therefore, by dismissing racial problems, the Colombian states can select what interests to protect without thinking of itself as racist. As I will show, its strategic selectivity is racially defined for its choosing to protect and to create the cultural, political and social conditions for the reproduction of the racial structure of inequality.

The Colombian society inherited a system of racial classification and stratification from the European colonialization in Latin America. This was a new model of global domination, the coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000), which not only defined new racial identities but also "[t]his new structure was an articulation of all historically known previous structures of control of labor, slavery, serfdom, small independent commodity production and reciprocity, together around and upon the basis of capital and the world market." (Quijano, 2000: 534). Quijano sustains that the racial classifications between white European, Indian American and Black African first designated countries of origins.

[10] My idea of racial strategic selectivity is drawn from (Jessop, 2008). I also described some of these forms of state actions in my master thesis. See Valderrama (2014).

Soon, it became biological differences between these groups (conqueror, conquered, enslaved), "the category of race produced new historical social identities in America - Indians, blacks, and mestizos-". (Quijano, 2000: 534). Later, "the conquered and dominated peoples were situated in a natural position of inferiority and, as a result, their phenotypic traits as well as their cultural features were considered inferior. In this way, race became the fundamental criterion for the distribution of the world population into ranks, places, and roles in the new society's structure of power." (Quijano, 2000: 535).

These classifications of the human being into racial categories (white, Indians and black) took place in a specific "structure for the control of labor"; the emergent of the capitalist economic system (see Quijano, 2000: Winant, 2001). "These forms of labor control included slavery [for blacks], serfdom [Indians], petty-commodity production [mestizos and whites], reciprocity, and wages [whites Europeans]." The privileged and dominant positions of whites gave them control over "gold, silver, and other commodities [cotton and sugar] produced by the unpaid labor of Indians, blacks, and mestizos" (…) and granted them "a decisive advantage to compete for the control of worldwide commercial traffic." (see Quijano, 2000). This is the basic structure upon which Colombian was structured in racial dominance. However, Colombia incorporated the coloniality of power through the sociedad de castas (society of castes), in which,

> "(...) different social strata were recognized and named, their positions supposedly determined primarily by degrees of racial mixture. At the bottom of this hierarchy, status was still defined institutionally for some. Tributary Indian labor in the form of the encomienda persisted in some regions until late colonial period, while slavery existed as a legal category and as a real status for blacks until 1851. At the top, the political and economic elite prided itself on its *liempieza de sange,*

> clean blood, supposedly free from the "taint" of black or Indian (or Jewish or Moorish) blood. The ranks of the mixed themselves were also strongly heterogeneous, with supposed ancestry and physical appearance powerful signs of status and positions." (Wade, 1993:8-9/emphasis from the original).

This caste system then stablished social and political positions based on the degree of the skin color. The blacker one social group was, the more uncivilized, barbaric and savages they were assumed; in sharply contrast, the whiter one social group was, the more civilized and modern they were considered. "[O]nly one thing was certain: to be black or Indian was bad, to be white was good." (Wade, 1993:9). Hence, this racial caste system created relations of power between superior (whites and white-mestizos) and inferior (black and indigenous mestizos, blacks and indigenous) races; a specific language to refer to these racial groups; a racial division of labor; and subjectivities. The particularity of the racial structure in Colombia have been our subjective conception of racism that have made the denial of its existence possible in public spheres and, therefore, our understanding of racism has normalized and naturalized (common sense) racist practices and discourses as nonracist actions in our daily interactions.

I would say that the pattern of denial and daily social interaction endurance of the racial structure in Colombia began with the most systematic and powerful racial project ever developed to deny the existence of racism in Latin America, including Colombia: the myth of racial democracy (Lasso, 2007). This myth, popularized by Gilberto Freyre (Brazil), José Vasconcelos (Mexico) and Fernando Ortiz (Cuba) in the 1920 and 30s, portrayed European colonialism and slavery as benign and paternalist in contrast to the United States'. Its discursive bases came from the demographic and economic weight of

people of mixed descents and of history of transculturation seen through the colonial culture, law, and religion. In this regard, Lasso (2007) suggests,

> "The first decades of independence (1810-1820) are crucial for understanding the myth's origins.", "the Colombian struggles for independence represents a foundational moment in the history of modern race relations in Latin America." In fact, "Gran Colombia was not only one of the first Latin America regions where racial equality became government policy but one of the first to elaborate a nationalist rhetoric of racial harmony and equality." (Lasso, 2007:11).

This rhetoric included the "Black Legend"; the beliefs that Spanish rule was particularly tyrannical and obscurantists. In public places and spheres -speeches, manumission ceremonies, and newspaper articles- elites repeated over and over that the "history of Spanish despotism and violence that oppressed Indians and blacks and divided fellow Americans. It allowed the erasure of racial conflicts between Americans, all fellow victims of the Spanish tyranny, and permitted patriots to envision a new era of republican equality, free from Spanish rule." (Lasso, 2007:57).

The rhetoric of racial harmony functioned as a unifier of the nation. By the end of the wars of independence, the colonial caste system and laws were terminated and legal equality rights were granted for all free citizens. However, "the fact that slavery remained legal in most of Spanish America until the 1850s seems to confirm the emptiness of the rhetoric.". On the other hand, this racial harmony discourse functioned as a racial mechanism of oppression. Somehow, it worked to keep blacks and mulattoes in "their place". First, this "nationalist discourse of racial harmony allowed the elite to maintain informal patterns of discrimination by impeding the formation of racially based political

association." (Lasso, 2007:9). Second, it opened the possibilities for mulattoes to occupy positions in public offices. However, "Providing equal legal rights to all races and sharing congressional seats with a few outstanding pardos did not imply a loss of traditional elite political power. A few pardos might become part of the constitutional assembly and the parliament, but they would still be a minority in the government." (Lasso, 2007:70). Third, this discourse allowed the elite to criminalize or define as unpatriotic blacks and mulattos who pretended to denounce racism or to mobilize racial grievances or fulfill their citizen rights (Lasso, 2007). As Lasso (2007) describes it, in some cases, blacks and mulattos were executed because denouncing racism or demanding racial equality was conceived as form of promoting race wars.

The myth of racial harmony and the criminalization of those who demanded their equal rights helped to secure white and mestizo dominance, or at least to secure slaves-owners' interests. So did Constitutional Laws enacted at the time. I would argue that the rationality behind Constitutional laws reflect what I call the racial strategic selectivity of the Colombian State; racial selectivity that sought to favor white and mestizo's interests. For example, mulattos, pardos and blacks were disqualified for political representation in public offices and state corporations. Elites used the Black Legend discourse to legitimate the exclusions of these populations from participating in Congresses. According to Lasso,

> "(...) deputies explained that the electoral college's only criteria for selecting representatives was to favor the most enlightened citizens. if all deputies were white, this was only because the Spanish, who despised pardos, [and blacks] had failed to provide them with education that would give them the necessary knowledge and enlightenment to be elected. Like slavery, then, blacks' electoral underrepresentation derived not from contemporary discrimination but from the

unfortunate legacy of Spanish despotism." (2007:60).

It was a long journey to end slavery in Colombia. In my opinion, it reflects the racial strategic selectivity of the Colombian State. Enslaved blacks were promised freedom if they fight for the independence (Gutierrez, [1980] 1994; Lasso, 2007 and Agudelo, 2005). However, it took more than 30 years, until 1851, to end slavery. It was gradually granted to prevent property rights from being violated and the economy from being severely damaged if enslaved were suddenly manumitted (Lasso, 2007). Preserving the interests of the slave-owners, in 1821 the congress of Colombia decreed the "free-womb law", which ensured that no more slaves would be born on Colombian soil. However, "Libertos (children of slaves, born after 1821) would have to work for their mother's owner until the age of eighteen to pay back the alleged maintenance costs their owner had spent raising them." (Lasso, 2007:59). Slave-owners also "sought ways to prolong slavery through "tutelaje" (tutelage) and "concierto", arguing that this was the proper way to prepare enslaved blacks to be ready for social integration (…). Other Slave-owners chose to contraband enslaved by taking them out of the country to sell them." (Agudelo, 2005) in Peru, (Gutierrez, [1980] 1994).

Between 1821 and 1850 several laws were enacted to secure white and mestizo domination. For example, Agudelo (2005) remarks, "they (blacks) could not dress in the same way as whites and mestizos, or carry the same type of weapons, or access to education, or exercise certain trades, or ride horses, or had the same freedom of movements that the rest of the free population." (2005). Likewise, Gutierrez, ([1980] 1994) highlights some of laws enacted from 1852 on that forced blacks to work under

restricted conditions imposed by masters (Patrón) in Colombia. These laws were “el concierto”, the “matricula” and the “Ley de vagancia” (Vagrancy Laws). Blacks were freed from slavery; however, they were constrained to become servants (Gutierrez, ([1980] 1994:85). They were free workers; yet, free workers without any tools, lands or resources to become independents worker; instead, they were prescribed to be subjected to forms of sharecropping-like such as “arrendamiento”, “terraje” or “terrasgo” and “aparceria” (Gutierrez, ([1980] 1994:85). They were freemen and women, but not free from white and mestizo forms of racial dominance and subjugation.

Castillo (2007), by drawing on Sunders’ research, describes how afrocolombians and indigenous communities were constantly excluded from the formal realm of politics. He describes, for instance, that the Constitution of 1843 limited citizenship and the right to vote to those adults who possessed more than three hundred (300) pesos on property rights or those who made one hundred and fifty (150) pesos per year. After 1850, white and mestizo elites added another criterion to define citizenship those who knows how to write in Castellano. As before, white and mestizo elites used the black Legend myth to legitimate the exclusion of afrocolombians and indigenous from the realm of politics and the idea of citizenship (Castillo, 2007).

During the decades of 1880 emerged what is known as the Regeneration period; a political movement led by conservatives and independent liberals. They changed the Colombian State from being federalist (United States of Colombia) to centralist State (the Republic of Colombia); State that would set the first step towards its Andean-centric

formation (see Arocha and Moreno, 2007). Accordingly, the entire country has been governed from Bogotá and the Andean zones, where the predominant population have been perceived as white and mestizo. As Sanders (2004a) states it, regeneration was also a racial construction where "Blacks and mulattoes – especially in discourse, if not in reality- would be pushed to the margins of the Colombian nation and state, isolated geographically and ideologically from the rest of the polity." (Sanders, 2004a:195). Thus, every state action, policy, law, administrative decision, political participation rule and racial representation of the regional geography of Colombia have been created and directed from Bogotá (Arocha and Moreno, 2007).

In any case, the Regeneration's political movements consolidated a conservative political hegemony from Andean (Bogota, Medellin, Popayan, Cali) which lasted until 1930 when liberals would win the presidency elections. Still, the Andean-centric formation of the Colombian State is still more effective than ever. During Regeneration time, state actions would produce a specific social and racial order to secure landholders' property rights and economic interests (see Sanders, 2004a) and to avoid racial conflict between afrocolombians and mestizos. There are three main state actions that I want to summarize here to provide specific details about how Colombian society has become structured in racial dominance. They are: a. the 1886 Constitution; b. the catholic control over the process of education of the popular sectors in Colombia; and c. The ideology of mestizaje.

The constitution of 1886 was one of the most significant achievement of the

regeneration's political movements. This constitution was the framework that set the legal tone for the consolidation of the denial/daily practice of racism in Colombia. For instance, this Constitution asserted Colombia as a homogeneously mestizo nation; its national language-Spanish- and its national religion -Catholic- until 1991 (Castillo, 2007). Then, languages, spiritual practices and expressions and racial identities derived from the indigenous and afrocolombian populations were excluded from this definition of mestizo nation. Likewise, it has been almost one and half hundred years of denying/enduring race and racism in Colombia until recently that the Colombian State has recognized not only the ethnic and racial presence of afrocolombian in its Constitution but also has ambiguously recognized some forms of racism in Colombia.

In 1887, conservatives in power made a concordat with the Vatican, reinstating powers to Catholic Church previously lost during the liberal presidency. Since then, although freedom of worship has been ratified in different historical moment of Colombia and there have been some periods of rupture between the Colombian State and the Catholic Church, the supremacy of Catholicism has made it cornerstone of our national identity. It defines our national values, beliefs and behaviors. Agudelo (2005) provides examples of the significant role played by the Catholic Church in Colombia. I want to refer briefly to its role played in the education of marginal and popular sectors of Colombia around the period of regeneration. Accordingly, the Pacific region was defined as "Tierra de Misiones" (Mission Lands); definition that made "the Church the main representative of the State in the region, in terms of covering services such as education and health." (Agudelo, 2005). The presence of the Catholic Church in the Pacific region

aimed eminently at evangelizing afrocolombian and indigenous communities. To this end, the Catholic Church established apostolic vicariates and prefectures in several towns and cities in the Pacific region. Franciscan and Franciscan sister, Augustinian Recollect and Claretian missionaries spread through the region.

The process of evangelization led by the Catholic Church sought to educate afrocolombians into the Christian morals. This means that priests sought to destroy religious and cultural practices inherited from Africans for being pagans, vulgar, dangerous, sinful and evil. An example of this can be the case of the Marimba in Barbacoas; a traditional instrument in the black communities of Pacific region. When the priest Jesús Mera arrived at Barbacoas, he saw that afrocolombians were too devoted to marimba dances. Then, the priest saw marimba as a diabolic expression. Therefore, he thought that no person who want to save their soul could dance marimba. Then, he stablished that for those who wanted to confess in his Church, they must get rid of their marimbas. Also, he went down the river and burnt all the marimbas in the town Barbacoas (Agier, 1999:225). Although the moral impositions of the Catholic Church were transgressed or simply not accepted by most of afrocolombians in the Pacific region, we cannot deny how Catholicism have produced negative images on black culture and religiosities. Racial stigmatizations such as defining black culture and religiosity as backwardness, uncivilized or diabolical has been the languages that still today some priests use to refer to black culture. On the other hand, around the 80 and influenced by the Liberation Theology, the Pastoral Afrocolombiana (Afro-Colombian Pastoral) emerged to dispute racial representation within Catholicism. Today, the Pastoral

Afrocolombiana has been an important site and form of black politic in Colombia (see Agudelo, 2005).

Mestizaje was the final mechanism of oppression enhanced since Regeneration period. It incorporated old racial discourse of racial harmony and democracy. According to the historian Alfonso Múnera (2005), the "search for [the ideology of] mestizaje" can be traced since the eighteenth century when white and mestizo intellectuals, such as José Ignacio de Pombo, Francisco José de Caldas, José María Samper, Rafael Núñez, among others, promoted the ideology of mestizaje, which was ideologically influenced by Lamarckism (Múnera, 2005). Initially, the idea of mestizaje was conceived as an apologia of the mulatto and a discredit of mestizaje. The first, it is the result of the mixture between blacks and whites, and the second between indigenous and whites (Múnera, 2005). This idea of mulataje, like pardocracy in another part of Latin America, sought to eliminate the threat of blacks for the nation formation. Like mestizaje, mulataje sought to ameliorate the presence of inferior race such as blacks and indigenous. Later, mestizaje was imposed as the strategy to modernize Colombia and mulataje did not have much impact. Francisco José de Caldas, José María Samper, and Rafael Núñez were pioneer proponents of mestizaje in 1800. With the Constitution of 1886, the idea of mestiza was assumed by the Colombian State. From this point on, the Colombian State sought to modernize and institutionalize governmental apparatuses and its production of knowledge to portray Colombia as mestiza. Thus, afrocolombians would be erased or minimized in the history of Colombia. They would be portrayed in textbook as inferior race and situated in the perceived underdeveloped Pacific region. Their participations,

especially of Haiti, in the wars of independence would be “silenced”.

The Comisión Corográfica (Chorographic Commission) is one example of this racial silencing and stereotyping. It produced knowledge about Colombian geographies, its racial compositions and natural resources (Restrepo, 1984). The way Afrocolombians are depicted for the leaders of the Comisión Corográfica reflected the racial sentiment animated by the racial discourses of mestizaje that circulated in Colombia at the time. Afrocolombians were portrayed as uncivilized, lazy, sexualized and barbaric. In this sense, the Comisión Corográfica “brings up the marimba in his description of the Pacific: not as an ethnological *costumbre* or even a curiosity, but as an indication of the poor use of time better spent working or consuming” (Birenbaum, 2009;138). Wade (1993) reports that Agustin Codazzi, former leader of the Comisión Corográfica, sustained that blacks in the Chocó province were “a race almost all of which passes its days in such indolence is not that which is called to make the country progress” (Wade,1993:13). In this narrative, the geographies of the negritude (Chocó, Magdalena and Cauca) were portrayed as places of beast; of barbarians; of backwardness; of laziness; and of stupidity (Villegas, 2008). In contrast, Andean cities like Bogotá, Medellin and Cali where represented as modern and virtuosity (Wade, 1993). To overcome such as state of barbarism, the Comisión Corográfica recommended to consolidate a national economic market by creating means of communication between regions, reaffirming the presence of the State in marginalized areas and stabilizing a social order (Restrepo, 1984). These state actions were thought to whiten, blanqueamiento of, Colombian society by creating the economic, social and cultural conditions for white Europeans to come to the country.

The 19th century Colombian costumbrista literature productions reproduced similar racial representations of Afrocolombians. According to Friedemann (1984) and Valderrama (2016) novels considered representative of the national identity, for instance "El Alférez Real" of Eustaquio Palacios (1886); "La María" of Jorge Isaacs (1867); "La Marquesa de Yolomboló" of Tomás Carrasquilla; and "Risaralda: novela de negredumbre y vaquería" of Bernardo Arias Trujillo, portrayed afrocolombians as irresponsible, stupid, sexualized, violent/aggressive, indolent and lazy; happy to be enslaved with benevolent and generous masters and a benign system of slavery; and whose social and cultural organizations have produced an "erudite barbarism" (Valderrama, 2016:219).

In 1927, the Colombian State created the Ministry of National Education whose main responsibilities were to promote "high culture" and "fine arts"; and the creation of libraries, museums and monuments. As Aristizabal (2002) states, this also suggests that the Colombian State did not make any effort to preserve what was considered "low culture" or popular culture (Aristizabal, 2002); particularly, cultures associated with afrocolombians. This perspective changed, a bit, between 1930 and 1948. Under the leadership of the liberal party, the Colombian State sought to modernize the country by consolidating a national identity. The Colombian State launched a cultural state policy, "Extension Cultural" -Cultural Extension (Silva, 2005)- aiming to improve the relationship between popular and ruling classes after years of civil wars and political conflicts. To accomplish it, the Colombian State *rediscovered* the "popular" and promoted it through the lens of folklore. Traditional, local and cultural practices and expressions that have historically remained "intact" and survived through the time (For

example, traditional rituals, music, rhymes, popular sayings and riddles, proverbs, and local dances) became the "quintessence of the national soul." (Silva, 2005: 26).

The Extension Cultural had two phases. In the first phase (1930-1940), the Colombian State diffused and infused high forms of culture such as reading, writing, poems, science, hygiene, agricultural modernization, rights and duties (Silva, 2005). For this, the Colombian State created a cultural program, "Cultura Aldeana" -Village of Culture- (Pisano (2010) describes it as Aproximación Cultural -*'cultural approach'*, which brought education to everywhere in Colombia with the purposes of educating and civilizing "the masses" from a secular perspective (Silva, 2005). According to Pisano (2010), European morals and hygiene values were used to discipline afrocolombians, which means that white and mestizo elites wanted to get rid of black culture by replacing it with European's. For the second phase (1940-1948), the Colombian State promoted social and anthropological investigations to rediscover, study, and articulate the popular culture of "masses" into the idea of mestizo nation.

For this, the Colombian State re-oriented previous State Institutions and official journals (Ministry of National Education, National museums and Revista De las Indias), created other institutions and Journals (Escuela Normal Superior (National School) and the National Ethnological Institute; Boletín de Arqueología and Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional) and decreed new cultural State programs. At the time, popular cultures were understood through the lens of folklore. National folklore then became the object of study and of intervention. The Colombian State, academics (anthropologists,

folklorists, etc.) and politicians turned their interests toward folkloric expressions hoping to create and consolidate the Colombian national identity by unifying the "masses" and the ruling classes (Silva, 2005 and Miñana, 2000). Therefore, conferences, folkloric festivals, publications, television and radio programs were held to promote Colombian folklore or Colombian popular culture of the masses.

In Latino America countries, folklore and mestizaje overlapped in constructing the national identities. Seigel (2009) sustains that black popular music offered the grounds for the assertion of racial harmony in Brazil (Seigel, 2009). Also, Peter Wade (2009) manifests,

> "(...) in many ways, these were musical style that developed in the working-class barrios of Latin America cities, often by adopting European styles and combining them with African-derived (...) aesthetics and rhythm, and that were then fastened upon by the middle class, 'cleaned up', modernized, and made into acceptable national (mestizo) symbols" (Wade, 2009:43/emphasis from the original).

While the States in Latin America promoted mestizaje, they simultaneously sustained racial inequalities (Wade, 1993). For example, in Colombia, black cultural expressions such as currulao were not recognized and visible at the time. It was after the 1991 when the Petronio Festival came up that Colombian as whole would know more about the existence of such as black expressions. This is different with Andean musical expressions such as banbuco and porro; musical styles that were considered representatives of the national identity (Wade, 2000).

While the Colombian State displayed its cultural "strategic selectivity" (Jessop,

2008) for educating and unifying the nation as mestiza, the Colombian State also showed its racial strategic selectivity that denied the racial differences and inequalities under the ideology of mestizaje. By promoting mestizaje, the Colombian State also displayed some State practices that endured racism and racist practices of exclusion. We know that "racism is constantly emerging out of nationalism" (Balibar, 1991: 53; see also Hall, 1993), and this cultural dimension of the Colombian State was one space where "the cycle of historical reciprocity" between racism and nationalism, "which is the temporal figure of the progressive domination of the system of nation-states over other social formations" (Balibar, 1991: 53), took shape.

This cultural state project reveals how the Colombian State's intention to reinforce a "fictive" national ideality called mestizaje was "the belief in the use of racial mixture to enlighten the complexion (culture) of a nation in the movement toward whiteness and thereby promote racial hegemony" (Hernandez, 2013:20). For example, State institutions and journals were devoted to the study of indigenous societies as the far away past of Colombia. In contrast, the studies of black societies were denied, invisibilized, disgraced and subordinated (Friedemann, 1986; Wade, 1993; Birenbaum, 2009; and Pisano, 2012). On the other hand, the Colombian state intended to whiten the Colombian population by encouraging European immigrants to Colombia with economic and political benefits such as travel fund and tax breaks (See also Wade, 1993, Pisano, 2012; and Hernandez, 2013).

Each Latino American country have developed their own version of mestizaje. This has occurred in dialogue both among Latin American countries, and between Latin

American countries and Europe, United States and South Africa. According to Wade (1993), De la Cadena (2000) and Pisano (2012) the terrible racist events that occurred in Germany, United States and South Africa worked as empirical arguments to differentiate Latino American countries from those with overt and legal racial systems. As result of this differentiation, Latino American countries promote the idea that they were racially democratic societies; a "racial paradise" (Telles, 2004).

In understanding the black politics, we need to recognize how the effect of this ideology have shaped the languages and discourses of racism in Colombia. For black activists, politicians and intellectuals to complain about racism was obviously difficult. The word 'racism' intermediately connected and referred to the meanings and images popularized by the atrocities occurred in Germany and in the United States. Thus, the word racism itself became a 'trap' to describe the racial formation, realities and ways of operation of race and racism in a covertly racist regime as Colombia.

A final international factor that influenced the art of the possible for black activists, politicians and intellectuals in Colombia relates to the mutation of the racial rule that governed the world until the War World II in 1950s. According to Winant (2001), the global racial project -white supremacy- began to experience an unprecedented crisis. Its ideological and scientific foundations were discredited because of the terrible events that occurred in United States and Germany. Ideas of modernity, democracy and equality that these countries promoted were criticized for their inapplicability when relating to race and racism. Also, social and political mobilizations spread the world in multiple

forms. These political struggles emphasized on the elimination of Jim Crow System, the liberation of African countries and equal racial opportunity. According to Winant, these factors (and other too numerous to list in this paper) contributed to the problematization of the traditional and overtly racialized forms of rule that has shaped the world order (Winant, 2000:32).

White supremacy as global racial project did not fulfill the requirement to preserve the racial order any longer. A new racial project was needed. I argue that the racial project of mestizaje developed in Latin America fit into the requirements this new racial order needed. Mestizaje was the perfect racial model of governmentality that met the needs of the new situation that required a less overtly racist regime to preserve the racial hegemony. Thus, the ideology of mestizaje resonated with the ideas of democracy, individual opportunities and freedom. This new racial order is what I call the global racial mestizo project: a racial project that was advocated by international organizations – e.g. the United Nation- after the War World II.

For example, UNESCO financed studies, international events and conferences to discuss race and cultural differences related problems and issues (see Garcia, 1987). Brazil was a case of interest for its ideology of racial democracy. UNESCO financed several social investigations in there. Accordingly, although these studies had "little evidence to sustain the idea of racial democracy (...)", "there was still a tendency to deny the significant of race or to see it as declining over time: Brazil was basically a class society" (Wade, 1997:57).

Since 1960, UNESCO participated and got involved with black activists and intellectual. For example, Leonor Gonzales Mina and Teofilo Potes had the chance to meet a representative of the UNESCO in Cali. She sates: “I entered the conservatory here, and here I continued to study drama, and I was very lucky to study drama with Enrique Buenaventura, with Fanny [Mikey], with Pedro Martínez, Fanny’s husband, and UNESCO brought a French teacher, a mime that taught us too.” (Leonor GonzalesMina, interview, January 2012). As I will describe below, UNESCO financial support was key for the realization of several public events organized by black organizations.

My argument of the global racial mestizo project needs more study to be proven. However, one can find some of the principles and racial dynamics of mestizaje in the current global racial rule. That is, the racial logic of inclusion/exclusion, endurance/denial of racism and race. In this respect, Winant suggests that the new global racial rule “simultaneously incorporates and denies the rights, and in some cases the very existence, of others whose recognition was only so recently and incompletely conceded” (Winant, 2001: 35). Even though black counterpublics were constituted in Colombia, we cannot deny its connections to the global racial politics of this time, and to the celebratory and welcoming global atmosphere of the cultural and ethnic differences; particularly, this global celebratory opening for the cultural difference brought contradictions into the local racial dynamics as I will describe below.

2. Race is not the Modality in which Class is Lived

The political context, in which black counterpublics emerged as an alternative structure of politics for afrocolombians, was a historical period radicalized by the re-emergence of socialist and Marxist discourses, on the one hand, and anti-communist discourses on the other. This was convulsive and radicalized period influenced by the cold war between United States and the Soviet Union. Several strategies were taken by political actors in favor or against the National Front agreement (see below). I want to highlight some aspects of this convulsive and radicalized political context to make sense of how afrocolombians found their ways to build their own black public spheres given this historical moment.

The National Front was a political agreement that involved conservatives and liberals to overcome what has been defined as the political violence period. This began with the assassination of the populist and liberal Jorge Eliécer Gaitán[11]. In fact, political confrontations between liberals and conservatives created political conditions for the establishment of the military dictatorship between 1953 and 1957. Dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla sought to re-establish peace and order in Colombia (Archila, 2003; Posada-Carbo, 1998). The military dictatorship did not accomplish its purposes. Thus, the National Front was established to resolve violent confrontations between these parties. It

[11] Scholars identify the assassination of populist leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán as the origin of the political and social unrest in 1948. In contrast, Gilhodés, (1970) demonstrates that the social and political turmoil that led to the political violence between conservatives and liberals began years before leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán's assassination.

was set up as a bipartisan pact. It detailed an agreement between the parties to alternate power. This meant that each party occupied the presidency of Colombia for a period of four years (see Table 1), and the Senate and the house of representative were distributed equally between the parties. Thus, social and political actors who were not part of these political parties were left excluded from public offices. As Múnera (1998) stresses, the National Front was a new form of 'oligarchic regime' where non-liberal and conservative candidates could not run for presidency, congressmen, state representative or any public offices.

Table 1
1. Elected Presidents during the National Front

Period	President	Party
1958-1962	Alberto Lleras Camargo	Liberal
1962-1966	Guillermo Leon Valencia	Conservative
1966-1970	Carlos Lleras Restrepo	Liberal
1970-1974	Misael Pastrana Borrero	Conservative
1974-1978	Alfonso Lopez Michelsen	Liberal
1978-1982	Julio César Turbay Ayala	Liberal
1982-1986	Belisario Betarcur Cuartas	Conservative
1986-1990	Virgilio Barco Vargas	Liberal

Formally, the National Front lasted from 1958 to 1974. However, its institutional and political disassembly went from 1974 to 1990 when the new Constitutional Reform took place (Archila, 2003; Posada-Carbo, 1998). Thus, The National Front represented a structure of political exclusion and centralism that lasted 42 years; structure of politic that produced the social, cultural and political conditions for the emergence of radical and moderate Marxist, communist or socialist organizations and parties. There was massive discontent of the political and social implications produced by the National Front. In fact,

9.981 protests were reported during this period (Archila, 2005). Therefore, a variety of social and political actors protested almost every day against social inequalities, labor exploitation, housing and urban services (e.g. water, electricity, paved roads, church, playgrounds, etc) (see Torres, 2007; Múnera, 1998; Arango, 1986; and Archila, 2003) caused by the exclusion and centralism of the National Front.

Since the first presidency elected within the context of the National Front, presidents developed strategies to terminate what they perceived as a threat: the advance of Marxism, socialism or communism in Colombia. These organizations and groups emerged under the rubric of the New Left as different from the labor union and Colombian Communist Party (see Archila, 2005). Just to keep in mind, this is the time when most of the guerrilla, leftist, social, urban and popular organizations emerged outside the boundaries of the traditional political parties and labor unions. Thus, State actions against communism and Marxism increased even more after Cuban revolution took place. There was a widespread fear of communism in Colombia that drove many anti-communist state actions. Let me highlight some of these. The reader will see how these strategies fall into two categories. Those that sought to eradicate the threat of communism by *repression* and those anti-communist actions that sought to cohere the Colombian society by implementing social advances and solidarity among the subordinated social groups.

Table 2
2. Organization and Groups of the New Left

Year	Organization	Type	Political Orientation
1959	Movimiento Obrero Estudialtil Campesino-MOEC	Community-Based Organization	Left
1960-	Juntas de Acción Comunal	State Sponsor	Clientelist
1960	Movimiento Revolucionario Liberal-MLR	Oppositional Party	Liberal and Radical liberalism
1961	Alianza Popular Nacional-ANAPO	Oppositional Party	Coalition Liberals-Conservatives
1964	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-FARC	Guerrilla Group	Marxist-Leninist
1965	Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional-ELN	Guerrilla Group	Marxist-Gevarista
1965	Frente Unido	Guerrilla Group	Liberation Theology
1967	Ejército Popular de Liberación-EPL	Guerrilla Group	Marxist -Maoist
1968	GOLCONDA	Catholic	Liberation Theology
1979	Bloque Socialista – Socialist Block	Students, Labor Unions,	Marxist –Trotskyist
1970	Asociacion Nacional de Usurios Capesinos-ANUC	State Sponsor	Agrarian Reform Clientelist and later of the left
1970	M 19	Guerrilla Group	Marxist-Gevarista
1977	National Civil Protest	Community-Based Organization	Civic

Since the first presidency within the context of the National Front (1958-1982), every president declared state of siege at least once during the presidency (see table 3 below). In fact, in a special report for the newspaper “El Espectador” in Colombia, professor Mauricio García Villegas states that between 1949 and 1991, the Colombian society lived more than 30 years under the state of siege. According to him, this shows that the state of siege became, at least until 1991, an instrument of regular usage for

presidents[12]. Accordingly, these states of sieges were not only declared to confront the popular protests, it was also an effective state mechanism to prevent the growth of communism in Colombia and benefit dominant and elite classes in Colombia (Múnera, 1998:155-6). Thus, repressions took many forms. Social and political activists were persecuted, prosecuted, illegally assassinated, disappeared; and detained, put on trials and judged by military commissions (Juntas Militares) (Archila, 2005). In general, individual liberties were restricted to preserve social order.

Table 3
3. State of Siege in Colombia

Presidency	**State of Siege**	**Party**
Alberto Lleras Camargo	1958	Liberal
Guillermo Leon Valencia	1965	Conservative
Carlos Lleras Restrepo	1968, 1969 & 1970	Liberal
Misael Pastrana Borrrero	1970, & 1971-73	Conservative
Alfonso Lopez Michelsen	1975-76	Liberal
Julio César Turbay Ayala	1978	Liberal

From a global perspective, Colombia was just one example of a global phenomenon inscribed within the Cold War. Since the end of the World War II, the United States had intervened in Europe and Latin America through economic programs such as the Marshall Plan and the Alliance for Progress (Alianza Para el Progreso). Although, this program aimed to establish economic cooperation between Latin America and the United States, Alliance for Progress was basically an anti-communist program

[12] See https://www.elespectador.com/impreso/politica/articuloimpreso43317-un-pais-de-estados-de-excepcion.
Consulted 12/26/17.

(Tirado, 2014). Between 1961 and 1975 United States trained thousands of militaries, of which later eight became dictators in Latin America countries, and sent 2, 500 million dollars in arms. Also, since 1962, Peace corps started to be sent to Colombia with anti-communist purposes (see Tirado, 2014). Between 1961 and 1969, Colombia received 761, 9 million dollars from United States. This economic support went to sponsor social programs such as reforms (e.g. agrarian reforms), scholarships, cultural exchanges, etc. According to Tirado (2014), Colombia was the most appropriate reference for the development of the Alliance for Progress; especially, in its first phase. Thus, Colombia became a consistent ally for the United States on its foreign policy (Tirado, 2014).

During the time that corresponds to the emergence of black counterpublics, the 70s, there were one conservative and two liberal governments (see table 1 above). Presidents Misael Pastrana Borrero, Alfonso Lopez Michelsen and Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala. Siblings Zapata Olivella's web of relations and collaborations emerged, with new cultural and social activists, during the presidency of conservative Misael Pastrana Borrero. In this presidency, public manifestations were totally prohibited; social activists (labor unions, students and peasant organizations) were accused of and criminalized as communist collaborators; urban growth was stimulated at expenses of rural areas and peasant agriculture -the longed agrarian reform was discarded, and instead, concentration of lands in few landholders increased; and forms of neoliberal policies appeared oriented towards exportations, privatization and international investments (Archila, 2005 and Tirado. 2014).

Social activism was particularly high during this time. Peasant organizations occupied lands to press the implementation of the Agrarian Reform. Labor unions, and independent sectors realized a public manifestation against the increased cost of living. The student organizations mobilized against the interference of foreign interests in academic life of the public universities. And this was the period of the incipient indigenous movements in Colombia. And, the Movimiento Obrero Independiente y Revolucionario- MOIR, also emerged during this presidency. This is an important Maoist oriented political expression that had influence in a significant number of social and civil organizations during the time (Archila, 2005 and Tirado. 2014). Also, the presence of afrocolombians who later participated in the formation of black counterpublics were significant in this leftist political organization (see below).

Officially, Consejo Nacional de la Poblacion Negra appeared in 1975 in Cali. In Bogota, Amir Smith Cordoba found the Centro CICUN. This was during the presidency of liberal Alfonso Lopez Michelsen. Officially, this is the presidency where the National Front started being uninstalled. However, its spirit continues. Liberal and conservative kept dividing Congress and the house of representative as mentioned before. Also, the implementation of neoliberal economic policies continued with emphasis on exportation, privatization and international investments. With the presidency of Alberto Lleras Camargo (1958-1962), Colombia cut relationship with Cuba. During the presidency of Alfonso Lopez Michelsen, this relationship was reestablished.

This presidency reinforced patronal unions at expenses of independent labor

unions. The Sugar cane cutter strike emerged within the tensions between patronal and independent labor unions, in 1975. Moir and its afrocolombian militants would have a remarkable participation in this sugar cane protest (see below). Other public manifestation that had national impact was the 1977 massive and national civic protest (Paro Civico) that involved labor union, student, peasant, grassroots and urban popular organizations. In addition to the declaration of the state of siege, under this presidency started the practice of disappearing activists (Archila, 2005) as a measure to preserve social order. In short, the National Front period was a time when the Colombian society militarized politics (Gonzales Sánchez quoted by Archila, 2005:126).

Social protest and struggle in Colombia was also a reflation of social and political mobilization that occurred in the world. Between 1950s and 70s, the world witnessed the emergence of a variety of social, cultural and political expressions, manifestations and process of independence against tyranny, exploitation, colonialism and racism. In Colombia, these mobilization and revolutions were assumed as different political agendas that expressed the emergence of a new left (Archila and Cote, 2009). These were the Chinese and Cuban revolutions that took place successfully between 1949 and 1959. The African wars of independence between 1950 and 1970. The triumph of the War in Vietnam, Laos and Camboya. Among others. Thus, the revolution in Colombia was perceived around the corner (Archila and Cote, 2009:70). “It was thought that colonialism was not invulnerable, that imperialism could be defeated, as it happened in Vietnam, that the revolution by rifles was possible, as Cuba shows.” (Tirado, 2014:53).

When black counterpublics emerged in Colombia, the political context was dominated by Marxist (Marxist-Leninist, guevarista, Maoist, Trotskyist) and anti-communist political discourses. Thus, I want to highlight that in Colombia the "political context of opportunity" was aligned for the emergence of social and popular organizations under the rubric of class struggle, not race. The possibility of "mobilizing resources" (networks, money, social and political allies, knowledge, symbols, etc.) or of defining a "collective identity" were controlled by debates or struggles on class discourses. Either if the resources or identity references came from Cuba, Soviet Union, or the United States (Tirado, 2014), or Africa, because African independent struggles were perceived as part of the new left (Archila and Cote, 2009). Precisely, Frantz Fanon's famous book, a serious critic of the negritude movements, "The Wretched of the Earth", was read within context of class struggle. For example, Archila and Cote (2009) report the independence of Algeria in 1962 was part of the emerged new left (Archila and Cote (2009:62). Then, when the book, the wretched of the earth, arrived in Colombia, it was assumed as such. In a newspaper column, named New Left, published in the newspaper "El Espectador's Magazine Dominical", columnist Antonio Panesso Robledo wrote the following in 1971:

> "Exactly ten years ago, in October 1961, Frantz Fanon died at the age of thirty-six. (...) He has survived as a legend of the New Left, with Che Guevara and with Lumumba, and other minor saints such as Camilo Torres. His gospel, "The Wretched of the Earth" (with title taken from the first verse of the international), was soon a treaty for the nationalist movement that faced the so-called neo-colonialism, the practical interpretation of the left for the special situation of the African people" (Magazine Dominical, 1971).

It seems that for this author, the new left have found inspiration in Frantz Fanon's

writings: "(…) the African and underdeveloped trends of the New Left, all of these have been inspired, to some extent, by the writings of Frantz Fanon, (…)." (Magazine Dominical, 17- Oct. 1971). Thus, Frantz Fanon's writings were not read as anti-racist or anti-colonialist theorist. He was read as a new version of socialism or communism as Cesar Augusto Ayala Diago states it, "Guillermo León Casas, formerly a gaitánista and influenced in the 60 by the Frantz Fanon's radical thoughts. He repeated things from the book "The Wretched of the Earth": "… and the new left is not the left of Marx, nor of Lenin, nor that of Trotsky, it is no longer the left of the workers (…)." (Ayala, 1998:8).

The context was too dominated by class discourses that even culture was thought of class struggles. Tirado (2014) registers that the cold war also took place in the field of culture between the United States and Cuba. The "cultural turn" in British conceived that the "mode of production is also a culture, and every struggle between classes is always also a struggle between cultural modalities (Hall, 1994:63). The idea of the popular that widespread everywhere during the 70s also reflects this battle of classes (e.g. popular education of Paulo Freire); the cultural and intellectual dynamics of "Casa de la Cultura" in Cuba; the protest songs of Paulo Milanes, Mercedes Sosa, etc.; the influence of the Chinese revolution led by Mao Zedong. Thus, the 70s were a cultural and political contest where the idea of race was not the modality in which Class was Lived (Hall, 1980). Specifically, in Colombia race and racism were none-existence phenomena. Colombia was assumed as a racial democracy since the turn of the 1900. Thus, the idea of racial struggles in Colombia was no plausible. In fact, for many intellectuals, activists and militants of any political trends, the emergence of the black counterpublics was a

reactionary stupidity (see Friedemann, 1984). Of how racial discourses were received by intellectual, militants and activists in the left or the right during this time, it is an academic project that needs to be done.

3. The Negritude Movements

Despite the multiplicity of Marxist and right-ideological postulates, concepts, vanguardisms, afrocolombians found their ways to form black public spheres to address their own interests and needs such as defining black identity in their own terms. Here, the African diaspora constituted a source of references that helped them to reveal the racial dynamic and to construct notions of black identity in Colombia. My argument here is that African diaspora, understood as local, national and global conditions, processes and projects, provided afrocolombians with the theoretical frameworks to imagine themselves as having a black identity and culture derived from Africa. These afro-diasporic references came from a variety of local, regional and national experiences and political agendas. Some of them are the Haitian revolution; negrism; Pan African Congress; Garveyism; the New Negro Movement; the Harlem Renaissance; the Negritude Movement; the Afro-Cubanism; the Independence of African countries; the Civil Rights movements; Malcolm X; Martin Luther King J.; the Black Panther Party; Rastafarianism; Hip Hop; Salsa, among others. These afrodiasporic cultural and political experiences are somehow connected and mutually influenced by each other. They are, in some cases, parallel phenomena (see Depestre, 1984; Walters, 1993; Lao-Montes, 2007; Rabaka, 2015).

For this dissertation, I focus on the influences that negritude had on the emergence of black counterpublics in Colombia. Thus, I describe, succinctly, this afrodiasporic movement. My intention is to provide some backgrounds of the movements so that we can understand where the Negritude discourses came from, what it looked like and sought for, and why it has been so crucial for afrocolombians. This also means that my approach to the negritude movements in this section is more an informative description than an exhaustive and rigorous analysis of its dynamics, philosophies, agendas, and leaderships[13]. My goal here is to situate the reader in the afro diasporic context of the negritude that functioned as catalyzer for the emergence of the black counterpublics in Colombia under its rubric of negritude.

Negritude as a cultural and literary movements emerged in the black French-speaking experiences. It was formed in Paris, where its initiators attended university. Among some, there were Étienne Léro, Jules Monnerot, René Menil, Aimé Césaire, León Damas, Léonard Sainville, Aristide Maugée, the Achille brothers, Sajous of Cayes from Martinican, Guadalupan, Guyanese and Hiati; these were joined later by the African students Léopold Sedar Senghor, Osmane Sosé and Birado Diop, from Senegal. Negritude as movements came from the dynamics and interactions of these black intellectuals that converged in Paris for educational purposes (Depestre, 1984). Specifically, it was Aimé Césaire who used the term negritude for the first time in an article published in the publication L'Étudiant noir (the black student). It states,

[13] For a deep comprehension of the negritude movement, see Depestre (1984); Walters, (1993); and Rabaka, (2015).

> Since the Antilleans were ashamed of being Negroes, they looked for some kind of circumlocution with which to refer to a Negro. They talked about 'the man with tanned skin' and other similar stupidities… so we adopted the word négre (Negro) as the challenge word. This was a name of challenge. It was somewhat of reaction of an angry young man. Since they were ashamed négre, we then decided to use the term négre. I must confess that when we found L'Étudiant noir, I really wanted to call it L'Étudiant négre, but there was too offensive, for this reason I took the liberty of talking about negritude. There was within us a will to defiance, a violent affirmation of the word négre and of the word negritude. (Depestre, 1984, p. 268).

In this sense, negritude was a rebellious construction that sought to defy colonial racial categories such as Negroes. Like the new negro movement in the United States, from which negritude was very much influenced (Rabaka, 2015), negritude resituated the meaning of the racialized human bodies, the black communities, by recovering and praising the African culture and civilization (Arboleda Q, 2016; J. A. Caicedo, 2013; Rabaka, 2015; Depestre, 1984). It was the struggle for black liberation what causes everything to emerge. "That struggle gave birth to Negritude. Because Antilleans were ashamed of being Negroes, they searched for all sorts of euphemisms for Negro: they would say a man of color, a dark-complexioned man, and other idiocies like that." (Césaire and Depestre, 1983, p. 53). Therefore, negritude represented, at the time, a re-valorization of the African legacies, civilization and culture. Negritude was then a new term, created by African descendants in colonialized conditions, to refer to black population, feeling proud of their blackness (Arboleda Q, 2016; J. A. Caicedo, 2013; Rabaka, 2015; Depestre, 1984). In this sense, Frantz Fanon considers, "This negritude, hurled against the contempt of the white man, has alone proved capable in some sectors of lifting taboos and maledictions." (Fanon, 2004, p. 151).

From this point on, there was an explosion of literature productions and conferences within the framework of negritude (see Depestre, 1984; Rabaka, 2015). It was a massive cultural and literary movement that manifested the existence of negritude as inherited by African civilization and culture and whose legacies have produced aesthetics, cultural values, traditions and religiosities different from those of Europeans. This was not a homogenous project. Over years, negritude passed through several phases and contradictory definitions. There were two that dominated the spectrum of negritude. One proposed by Léopold Sédar Senghor and the other by Aimé Césaire. In fact, these two black intellectuals plus León Damas are considered the founding fathers of the negritude movement (Rabaka, 2015).

For Aimé Césaire negritude means anti-colonialism, rebellious and self-affirmation as I described it above. For León Damas, negritude entails not only a rediscovery of Africa but also "intellectual, cultural, social and political positioning against racism, colonialism and capitalism." (Rabaka, 2015, p. 107). However, León Damas has received the least recognition for his contributions to the movement (see Rabaka, 2015). For Léopold Sédar Senghor, negritude was un ontology; a vital force; an essence that derived from African despite the 'cultural borrowing" from Europeans (Rabaka, 2015, p. 117). The problem with this definition is that Léopold Sédar Senghor situate reason in the European culture and emotion in African legacies as vital forces that drive and complement each other within a context of cultural borrowings. Well, this was problematic statement. Because, Léopold Sédar Senghor seems to deprive African civilization of its own intellectual capacity to reason: "He made of negritude a timeless, a

historical phenomenon headed for a passionate and irrational return towards the vital, towards 'black emotion'." (Depestre, 1984, p. 272).

Despite these differences, around the 60s, the francophone negritude movements suffered a major crisis from which they could not recover. Around this time, negritude became something like an ideology that sought to represent the diverse forms of racial domination and discrimination in the African diaspora. Then, when an idea become an ideology and then it is universalized, it trends to obliterate local and regional experiences. Emmanuel Egar (2009) reminds us that this was a francophone literary movements that somehow excluded other black experiences in the African diaspora. Frantz Fanon puts it clearly,

> Negritude thus came up against those phenomena that take into account "Negro" or "Negro-African" culture broke up the men who set out to embody it realized that every culture is first and foremost national, and that the problems for which Richard Wright or Langston Hughes had to be on the alert were fundamentally different from those faced by Leopold Senghor or Jomo Kenyatta. (Fanon, 2004, p. 154).

The crises of the negritude movement became even worse when Jean Paul Sartre wrote his famous preface to Senghor's "Anthology', Black Orpheus. In this preface, Jean Paul Sartre resonated several critiques other black intellectuals in the African diaspora were making. For example, Wole Soyinka (see Egar, 2009) and Léon Laleau (Depestre, 1984). In this preface, Sartre states that negritude must be a transition that helps blacks raise their racial consciousness but it must be destroyed, because in a capitalist context of labor exploitation, negritude cannot be the point of arrival; the ultimate end. Social

conditions would somehow determine the final struggle for which "negritude would be called on sooner or later to make common cause with the socialist October Revolution and the liberation movement of the Colonized people." (Depestre, 1984, p. 271).

Scholars agree that this triggered to say goodbye to negritude. Because, class discourses would make negritude look like something subjective and as a problem of one racial group, in contrast to the objective and universal conditions of class (Depestre, 1984; Egar, 2009). The cultural and racial emphases put into the negritude discourses hid class problems that exists within black communities. Frantz Fanon (2004) and René Ménil made clear in their writings (see Arboleda Q, 2016; Rabaka, 2015). Thus, these black intellectuals would propose to consider both class and racial problems as fundamental cornerstones to understand the material and cultural conditions of blacks in the African diaspora. And, from here, Fanon (2004) critiqued Jean Paul Sartre for discrediting the centrality of race. For him, both race and class explain the subordinating position of blacks. At the end, Aimé Césaire, somehow, recognized the limitation of class in his understanding of negritude. Year later, in an conversation with Rene Depestre (Césaire and Depestre, 1983), Aimé Césaire would propose a definition of negritude that I draw on for this dissertation. He states, "I would like to say that everyone has his own Negritude. (…) if someone asks me what my conception of Negritude is, I answer that above all it is a concrete rather than an abstract coming to consciousness." (Césaire and Depestre, 1983, p. 54). Thus, negritude is a concrete coming to consciousness, because, "black people, (…), were doubly proletarianized and alienated: in the first place as workers, but also as blacks, because after all we are dealing with the only race which is

denied even the notion of humanity." (Césaire and Depestre, 1983, p. 55).

What I am going to show in the following chapters is a concrete coming to black consciousness in Colombia. This Colombian construction of negritude would entail heterogeneous projects that find sites of articulation and separation; or agreement and conflicts and disputes. Therefore, we will see a variety of political trends that correspond to the influence of folklore, liberalism, Marxism of blackness. As I will describe, each of these projects relate to specific historical moments and respond to a specific historical context. In my opinion, these black projects do not cancel or deny one another. If we see them from a global perspective, we could observe that each project corresponds to one dimension of the reality (culture, social and political) where the effects of racism have played different roles in subordinating afrocolombians. The difficulties have been to articulate each of these dimensions of politics in a common racial project given the urgent of the situation. There has been too many contradictions, tensions, ambiguities and disputes among them that make their articulation almost impossible. I hope that this academic project help to elucidate what we can do.

CHAPTER 3
THE HISTORICAL EMERGENCE OF BLACK COUNTERPUBLICS

In this section, I examine the long historical journey that ended up consolidating black counterpublics in the 70s. Here, I cover a long period from the formation of the Colombian republic after the world of independence, around 1820, to the 70s. My purpose is to show not only sites and forms of black politics before the 70s but also how these sites and forms of black politics interacted with other forms of politics along the way. Thus, during this time, black politics took multiple and different sites and forms. I argue that these black public spheres show how afrocolombians have managed to put their cultural, social and political agendas into the Public. They combined independent public spaces or institutionalized public species where their agendas and needs were subordinated.

In doing so, they faced manifold obstacles that ended up leading them to develop their own alternative and ambiguous public spheres; black counterpublics. So, I state that multiple locations, places, sites, forms, allies, purposes, and political agendas characterize these black counterpublics in Colombia. What readers are about to see is how black counterpublics followed different trends in their consolidations. Thus, black public spheres started with a dominant trend in the realm of politics, and ended up inclining themselves towards a much more culturalist platform in the field of popular culture.

1. Forming the Black Counterpublics

On April 22, 1943, young Natanael Díaz, "always attentive defender of his ethnicity" (Zapata, 1990: 187), published a public letter, "Mensaje de un Negro a Mister Wallace" (Message from a Negro to Mister Wallace), in a Bogotá's journal "El Tiempo". It addressed the United States' vice president, Henry Agard Wallace, who would visit Colombia few days later. On June 20 of the same year, a group of young blacks marched on Bogotá's streets. Like the Natanael Díaz's letter, the protesters' goal was to complain the United States' racial discrimination; express their racial solidarity and pay respect to two black workers lynched in a Chicago's Factory, few weeks earlier (Zapata, 1990: 187). In his autobiography, "Levántate Mulato" (1990), Manuel Zapata Olivella states,

> The presence of three to four blacks shouting long live of their race inside the classrooms shocked our classmates. Until then, and certainly later, mestizos, mulattos, and zambos, and even blacks or Indians themselves, had never questioned their ethnic identity. They looked at us surprised, like claiming a non-existent cause. Most of them looked annoyed by our shouting; because we would show them the links between their blood and the discriminated race. (Zapata, 1990:188).

Twelve black students, among them, Natanael Diaz, Adolfo Mina Balanta and Marino Viveros from the Cauca Valley and the Pacific region, responded positively to the participation on the march. "Aware of the obligation to assume a more combative attitude in defense of our ancestors.", the only participants from the Colombian Caribbean who attended the march were Manuel Zapata Olivella and his younger sister, Delia Zapata Olivella (Zapata, 1990: 188). The protesters, first, marched toward the National University's Library's Music Salon, requested the librarian to play Marian Anderson's and Paul Robeson's music. They demanded that "the music of the brothers of race were

played, Finally, the concert began as we asked and all of us silently listened for three hours to the religious hymns of the North American black people." (Zapata, 1990: 188). After, the protesters went on to block the transit of vehicles on the Bogotá's streets. When marching with tied fists on the air, they chanted "Long live blacks!" "Down with racial discrimination!" "We decry the lynching of our colored brothers and sisters in the United States!" and "Long live Africa in the year 2000!" (Zapata, 1990: 189).

Then, black students marched up to coffee shops where white intellectuals, merchants, students and unemployed used to meet and chat about national issues, and drink hot and cold beverages. "Natanael Díaz, fogoso speaker, step upon a table and harangue. The chorus was his classmates who we applauded and sang: ¡Ay mama Inés! ¡Ay mama Inés! ¡All Blacks Drink Coffee!" (Zapata, 1990: 189)[14]. Also, protesters recited Candelario Obeso's and Jorge Artel's poems, read chapters of Richard Wright's novel, "Native Son" (translated in Spanish as Sangre Negra), and payed one minute of silence homage to the memory of African American and intellectual George Washington Carver. Later that day, they performed and played and Afrodiasporic music expressions such as Cumbia and Rumba (Pisano, 2012:67). The demonstration ended at the Libertador Simon Bolivar's statue in Bogotá. There, although idolizing him first, Adolfo Mina Balanta recriminated at Simon Bolivar's statue for not keeping his promise of liberating black from slavery after independence. Because of the "disrespect" to the "Libertador", while some manage to flee, Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella, Natanael Díaz, Adolfo Mina Balanta and Marino Viveros were arrested by the police authority

[14] This is a very famous Cuban song.

(Zapata, 1990:190 and Pisano, 2012:67).

On the same day, June 20, 1943, black protesters formed a black social organization named "El Club Negro de Colombia" (The Black Club of Colombia). In it participated politicians Marino A. Viveros (the president), Natanael Díaz (public relation), Victor M. Viveros (treasurer) and poets and novelists Helcías Martán Góngora (vice president) and Manuel Zapata Olivella (general secretary). Their purposes sought to build a black library where scientific and literary works of afro descents could be exhibit, especially those who participated in the liberation of black people; to organize conferences; to create a black neighborhood like Harlem in New York; and to build a "Hogar" (like home) for afrocolombians (Pisano, 2012:67-68).

Recent studies have shown the importance of these public events, "El Día del Negro" (The Black Day) and "El Club Negro de Colombia". Pisano (2012) has shown how these public events reproduced contradictions and ambiguities between equality and hierarchy based on ideas of race; and Wabgou et. al, (2012) study how these events catalyzed the emergence of black leaderships in Colombia. In this chapter, I propose a different narrative of these events. I offer a deep interpretation of how these public events represent the articulation of different regionalized forms of black politics that helped constitute an autonomous form of black politics and organizations that I call Black Counterpublics. I argue that these public events put, at least, four different political and cultural traditions into dialogue. They are: a. black liberalism; b. negrismo; c. black culture; and d. Marxism. These sites and forms of black politics set in motion webs of

relations and collaborations between black politicians, intellectuals and cultural activists - with different political stances- that started national debates about what it means to be black in Colombia. By opening discussions and debates about blackness, these public events contributed in the formation of black counterpublics that set in motion ideas, discourses, and representations that influenced the construction of negritude movements through the 70s in Colombia.

The "El Día del Negro" and "El Club Negro de Colombia" public events congregated afrocolombians from the Pacific region and the Colombian Caribbean. Among them, Marino A. Viveros, Natanael Díaz, Victor M. Viveros from Cauca, Helcías Martán Góngora, from Guapi, southern of Pacific region, and Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella. In Manuel Zapata Olivella's testimony, he references the presence of other unknown afrocolombians (Zapata, 1990). Also, we know that politician Diego Luis Cordoba, novelist Arnoldo Palacios and ethnologists Regerio Velasquez from Chocó, and politician Nestor Urbano Tenorio from Buenaventura and Raul Gonzalez Mina from Puerto Tejada (Valderrama, 2014) were frequent visitors of Bogotá due their political and literature activities (Agudelo, 2005).

There is sufficient empirical evidence to support the idea that these afrocolombians and others, might start a national discussion of what it meant to be black in 1940. It seems that, there was a significant presence of afrocolombians in cities such as Cali and Bogotá before to the El Día del Negro and El Club Negro de Colombia public events. According to Manuel Zapata Olivella, afrocolombians in such as cities did not

identify themselves with their race. They felt ashamed and joked harshly on those who affirmed their blackness in any way. In fact, they disgraced their blackness and black culture.

> (...) at that time, I ignored the existence of blacks and mulattos in some prominent positions in public administration. There have been few parliamentarians, ministers, governors and mayors in the history of the country. However, what was silenced, true known by everyone, is that such "emblemas" (representatives) of the race must silence their origins, if anything they remember of their ancestors. They proclaimed that they enjoy these positions in their conditions of "Colombians" and not in representation of their ancestry. (Zapata, 1990:178).

Manuel Zapata Olivella's testimony (Zapata, 1990) is crucial to understand how the formation of black counterpublics took place initially in Bogotá. He says,

> …we, the students from the Caribbean coast, were led to violent confrontations, which were evident given our condition as *mulatos* or *zambos* and the pure black complexion of our classmates from Cauca. During those encounters in the capital, in tenement houses, in classrooms, and in the streets, we would discuss, without really knowing, the most important aspect of a humanist education: our own identity. 'You are black, I am *mulato*, we're both victims of discrimination.' (…) Slowly, painfully, my sister (Delia Zapata) and I started to untie the unconscious knot of racial complex." (Zapata, 1988:184).

Black counterpublics then started as Tertulias, small spaces where blacks shared ideas and representations. When black students from the Pacific Region, Cauca and the Colombian Caribbean converged and debated their class situations and racial discrimination in hostel (pensiones), coffees shops, libraries, and informal meetings, Karl Marx's and Friedrich Hegel's fed their discussion of their class subordination. Although, Marxism was crucial in Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella, and probably in other former afrocolombian participants of the "El Día del Negro" and "El Club Negro de Colombia", it was not enough to rise racial consciences. It was the discussions of afrodiasporic

materials and literatures about negrismo[15] that fed them with the ideological elements to define their racial identity. For example, they read books and articles written by Cuban Fernando Ortiz; Brazilian Nina Rodriguez and Mexican Gonzalo Aguirre Beltran. Also, Manuel Zapata Olivella remarks that they read novels such as Romulo Gallegas's "Pobre Negro" and the Adalberto Ortiz's "Juyongo"; materials that led them to discuss issues not only about class but also about racial discrimination (Zapata, 1990).

Politician Natanael Díaz was central to the rise of racial consciousness among these afrocolombians. In this regard, Manuel Zapata Olivella recounts,

> Fortunately, there are not few the leaders who were de-alienated. This is the case of the parliamentarian, poet and lawyer Natanael Diaz; real precursor of the Negritude in Colombia. While other congressmen of greater prestige tried to hide their black identity because of the paternalistic attitude of the dominant white group, Natanael Diaz proclaimed and affirmed his black race through his speeches, poems and articles. (Zapata, 1990:183-184).

This explains why Natanael Díaz was a central figure during the formation of the black counterpublics, and led the department of public relation of the "El Día del Negro" and the "El Club Negro de Colombia".

Manuel Zapata Olivella perceived that his Caribbean fellows had a lot to learn from their Afro-Caucan fellows. He says, "Delia and I began to hear from the Cacua students the first denunciations of racial discrimination. Unlike the whitening process of

[15] Negrismo was a cultural movement that was born in Cuba around the 1920. Later, it became popular in Europe and the US. Although, Nicolas Guillen was an of the representative figure of this movement, it was not exclusively of black intellectuals, white poets and artists participated in this cultural trend. Negrismo celebrated black music, rhythm, folklore, literature, poetry, and art. Its problem was that it did so by reproducing racial stereotypes (Seigel, 2009).

the mulattoes in the Caribbean coast, the children of the African descendants of the Pacific were reluctant to interact with whites." (Zapata, 1990:183). Manuel Zapata Olivella explains these differences in racial consciousness by recognizing the regional formation of race. He states, "His painful history, of course, had been different. The large black population concentrated in the mining and haciendas, whose slave-owners were the following: groups of Spaniards, produced the separation of the races into two strongly differentiated features: the house of the master and the shuck of the slaves." (Zapata, 1990:183). Thus, while Manuel Zapata Olivella and his sister, Delia Zapata Olivella, could recognize their racial mixtures between black, Indian and Spaniard heritages, their fellows from the Pacific region affirmed their unmixed black identity.

I agree with Manuel Zapata Olivella's broad explanation about the formation of regionalized racial domination that might lead him to observe regionalized racial consciousness about racial discrimination in Colombia. He did recognize the racial structure imposed over afrocolombians regionally (Wade, 1993), which produced regional constructions of blackness of which I am going to describe. My argument is that black counterpublics emerged as an articulation of regional construction of blackness in Bogotá. El Día del Negro" and "El Club Negro de Colombia" constituted public events where the presences and interactions of afrocolombians from different regions brought about regional constructions of blackness as described above by Manuel Zapata Olivella. This was one of the specific moments where someone could see the articulation of different forms and sites of black politics articulated as black counterpublics. This implies an afrocolombians' efforts to articulate regional into a national project of

blackness. To describe the articulation of sites and forms of black politics, and of the regionalized construction of blackness, I summarize four forms of black public spheres as fallow: black liberalism and Marxism, black literature (negrismo), and black culture as the black politics of folklore.

2. Black Politics in the Political Realm

The historical period between the declaration of independence and Regeneration, 1811-1888, was crucial to understand the formation of the Colombian nation state or at least its first rehearsal. Among many other things, the first Independence of Colombia in 1811 was championed by Black and Mulatto who led what has been named democracy to define racial equity (see Lasso, 2007). Likewise, for afrocolombians this period was central in redefining elites' conception of Colombia. By appropriating discourses of equality, fraternity, and freedom, African descendants struggled to redefine their social and political conditions of racial oppression by claiming their earned and deserved citizenship as result of their decisive participations in these wars (Múnera, 2005; Lasso, 2007; Sanders, 2004a; Agudelo, 2005; Reid, 2007; Helg, 2004). Later, free and enslaved blacks, and mulattoes such as Jose Prudencio Padilla fought for the independency of Colombia. Later, free and enslaved blacks fought four major civil wars that occurred during these years and that were central in defining the bi-partisan political system of Colombia: The War of the Supremes (1839- 1842), and later the wars that took place between conservatives and liberal (1860-1863 and 1876-77), and the one thousand Days War (1899–1902).

Historically, there has been a long tradition of African descendants in the liberal political party in the Americas, south and north. Their participations have been active, instead of passive, in defining the contour of liberalism, despite the liberal parties' constantly betrayal against black leaderships and communities (Andrews, 2007; Dawson, 2001). Afro-Colombians have seen popular liberalism "as a mean to enter the nation's public." (Sanders, 2004b:177). From the liberal political party platform, blacks have not only challenged power relations of oppressions but also proposed their own version of liberalism; what Sanders has named "Popular liberalism" in Colombia (2004:43); Reid "Black liberalism" in Latin America (Reid, 2007:156) and Dawson "Radical Egalitarianism" in the United States (2001:258). So, the relationship between liberals and afrocolombians shows a long history of mutual collaborations than simply a clientelist relationship.

Part of the African descendants has historically deployed their political agenda within liberalism; yet this was and has not been fully fulfilled. The political spaces for blacks to maneuver in the liberal political party have been racially limited. Although there were constraints, their political participations show that afrocolombians were not "politically ignorant, indifferent, or, simply, the clients of powerful patrons" (Sanders, 2004a:2). They have mobilized, or negotiated, their own racial projects with elite liberals (Sanders, 2004b). In this sense, the historical formation of the political systems in the Americas, south and north, cannot be fully comprehended without reference to blacks and their ideas of race (Dawson, 2001; Reid, 2007; and Sanders, 2004a).

The relationships between afrocolombians and liberalism must be differentiated by regions as it has been the case for race formation (Wade, 1993:53), and the idea of Nation State (Múnera, 2005 and [1998]2008) in Colombia. Historically, the north and south of the Pacific Region, and the Colombian Caribbean have been the regions where the presence of afrocolombians have been stronger (Wade, 1993; Múnera, 2005; Lasso, 2007; Sanders, 2004a; Agudelo, 2005; Reid, 2007; Helg, 2004). However, scholars report that their political participations within liberalism vary in these two regions in line with the predominant construction of racial dominations (Sanders, 2004; and Helg, 2004).

In the Colombian Caribbean, white and mestizo elites were demographically too small, weak and divided, and the State and Catholic power were, most of the time, limited (Helg, 2004). In contrast, in the Cauca Valley, white and mestizo elites were demographically stronger but politically divided into liberal and conservative ideologies struggling for the control of the state power. In the former, the Caribbean racial formation presents an apparently, disconnection between domination and racism. Like today expression of "racist without racism". According to Helg (2004), several factors converged to produce this disconnections between racism and domination. First, this type of domination was facilitated by the suppression of any racial reference in the 1820 Constitutions. Second, white and mestizo elites were willing to grant equality to free men of color as strategies to control the significant number of afrocolombians in the Colombian Caribbean. Third, they developed patronage networks that included lower-class people of color (Helg, 2004). So, this may explain the presence of afrocolombian in

high-raking position in public offices[16]. African descendants could occupy different social positions that ranged from property owner to artisan, from high-ranking military position, congressmen to soldiers, from day labor to enslaved jobs (see Lasso, 2007). However, any reference of racial claiming or agendas would trigger the social alarms of the fear of racial war on the part of white and mestizo elites (Lasso, 2007).

Helg (2004) suggests that the negative effect of these different social positions occupied by afrocolombians in addition to the absence of institutional racial discrimination prevented black and mulattoes to join a massive racially based organization. The effort of collective organization along racial line, then, became much more complicated due to the colonial racial categories did not overlap with status. Blacks, mulattoes, and zambos could be either enslaved or free (Helg, 2004)[17]. Another negative effect highlighted by Lasso (2009) is that these fed the myth of racial harmony (Lasso, 2007); ideology that reinforces the idea of the Colombian Caribbean societies and culture were racially mixed and allows elites to maintain informal patterns of racial discrimination that impacted not only the formation of racially based political association but also the rise of racial consciousness among afrocolombians (Lasso, 2007; Helg,

[16] For example, Admiral José Prudencio Padilla López (1784-1828), first black president in history of Colombia (1859 to 1864), Juan José Nieto Gil (1805-1866), politician Luis Antonio Robles (1849-1899) and Candelario Obeso (1849-1884).

[17] Helg (2004) points out another factor that explains the absence of a massive racially based mobilization on the part of Afrocolombians. Caribbean New Granada's territory was deeply fragmented. Plus, at the end of the Colony, there were campaigns of resettlements consisting of forcing rochelas, palenques and isolated settlements of escaped enslaved, mulattoes, zambos, people of color and indigenous to abandon their lands to live together in new villages organized by the elites. The result was the creation of new settlements with high degree of racial mixture. Subsequently, further blurred racial and ethnic boundaries increased by the sexual intercourse and violation between hacendados, officials, and other men in positions of power and the relocated women (Helg, 2004:36). As it resulted, people tended to identify more with individual cities, towns, and villages than with the Caribbean region.

2004).

In the Cauca Valley, although racial categories were often fluid and mulattoes had some degree of social mobility, racial discrimination was much overtly practiced by conservatives, and by some elite liberals (Sanders, 2004a:140). In this sense, conservatives were more likely to see nonwhites or mestizos as a serious threat to the Cauca's political economic future and order. In contrast, many liberals did not believe that blacks and Indians were their intellectual or social equals; nonetheless they did recognize that subalterns could be a potential political equal or, to some degree, equal political participants. Then, since both parties always needed the support of their subaltern allies to hold power, liberals exploited conservatives' overt racism to solidify their relationship with afrocolombians (Sanders, 2004a:140).

The complexity of racial domination in the Cauca valley, then, opened the possibility for the emergence of what Sanders (2004a) calls popular liberalism, which is one variant of the popular republicanism in the mid 1800th century. The other two were popular smallholder republicanism and Popular indigenous conservatism (Sanders, 2004a:19-42). Popular liberalism was composed by white poor, workers and tenants of lands on great haciendas. Despite their white dominant presence, most of them were afrocolombians - slaves or their descendants (Sanders, 2004a:22). Eventually, because of its members, "the fates of Afrocolombians and the Liberal Party became so closely intertwined that, especially, for Conservatives, liberalism and blackness became synonymous." (Sunders, 2004b:278).

Although, African descendants engaged in various forms of revolts, resistances, and adaptations (e.g. rochelas, palenques and isolated settlements in riverbanks), they did not take advantage of their demographic superiority to gain power over whites and impose their rule in any part of the region of the Colombian Caribbean (Helg, 2004)[18]. In contrast, afrocolombians' repertoires of contentious politics in the Cauca Valley were diverse. Some of them fit into Tilly's model of national modular and autonomous political actions aimed at ending slavery and removing conservatives from the government in Bogotá (Sanders, 2004a). They are: "Public Ceremonies", "the National Guard", and the "Democratic Societies" (see Sanders, 2004b)[19]. Particularly, democratic societies began in Bogotá around 1847 with artisan members, and quickly, sprang up around the country as the liberal party sought to hold power by building new citizens. Poor, workers, mulattos and blacks of the surrounding haciendas of the countryside, as in the case of Cali's, joined the liberal democratic societies. For them, democratic societies were public spaces where liberals spread their conception of liberal agendas. They taught liberalism, democracy, citizenship, etc. However, for afrocolombians, the democratic societies represented their opportunity to bargain their black liberal agenda (2004a and 2004b).

The influence of the democratic societies went beyond their formal settings. Members of the Democratic societies spread their ideas anywhere poor men and women

[18] I think Aline Helg does a very good job at describing the historical condition of the racial domination in the Colombian Caribbean. However, I agree with Lasso (2007) that the author could not distance herself from the traditional view that sees elites as the exclusive driven force behind the wars of independence. So, Afrocolombians are left as mere ignorant, indifferent, or, simply, recipient of the powerful elites' enlightenments. See Lasso (2007:8 and 130).

[19] The reader can learn more about public ceremonies and the national guard in Lasso's (2007:57-67) and Sanders' (2004b:283-284) works.

gathered. For example, in taverns and gaming halls of cities or the haciendas' field (Sunders, 2004a). In fact, what Sunders describes can be understood as black liberal form of local black public spheres (Hanchard, 2006) in which everyday interactions among blacks gave leaders, such as David Peña, ideas of the afrocolombians' problems that, were lobbied or demanded in these democratic societies on behalf of afrocolombians (Sanders, 2004a and 2004b). Black liberalism also took violently form such as "Zurriago", which "began with the destruction of fences on Cali's ejidos, in which (…). Bands of men, often assumed to be slaves or ex-slaves, burned haciendas, tore down fences, and assaulted prominent Conservatives and their families, turning upon their former masters the hated symbol of slavery: the whip." (Sunders, 2004b:291-292). Also, afrocolombian marched in support to the Liberal Party; claimed their rights directly to the government using petition; boycotted the liquor or Tabaco trade from licensed agents; refused to pay rents to hacendados; went on strike a couple of times; and went on riots against local and abusive authorities and hacendados.

To sum up, the first years after the wars of independence shows different understandings of liberalism defined by regional racial dominations. In a way, afrocolombians' conceptions of liberalism oppose to elites'. Elite liberalism was about reforms that extend individual freedoms, economic competitions, protections for domestic productions; end land monopoly from catholic church, abolition of slavery, decentralize government, and increase the role of the common people (Sanders, 2004a:66). In the Caribbean, black liberalism took the form of the pressures pardos, mulattoes and blacks made for their racial equality and treatment. Black liberalism in the

Cauca Valley was about the rights to the land and to labor it (Sanders, 2004a:49). Thus, the very definition of afrocolombians' conception of freedom, equality and citizenship refers to the Afrocolombian rights to labor their own lands due to their sacrifices in the wars of independence. Therefore, this right to the property land should prevent afrocolombian from returning to slavery. Both "acted, not for their class, but for identities built on race, culture, economic location (…), geography, and, increasingly, partisan affiliation." (Sanders, 2004a:194; see also Lasso 2007).

Around 1880, the period known as Regeneration, the relationship between liberals and afrocolombians suffered a terrible setback (Sanders, 2004a). Like in the United States and South Africa, where "race trump class" (Marx, [1998] 2006:15), elite liberals (Independents) and conservatives united forces against popular liberalism due to the threat the relationship between liberal and afrocolombians produced. This relationship frightened and destabilized their construction of order. Therefore, elite liberal and conservative together established a new social and racial order in which the participation of afrocolombians, and subalterns in general, was severely restricted. By claiming the virtues of religion, order, and progress against the chaos, disorders and insecurity of the subaltern participations in politics, they reinforced central state, secured property (land) to landholders, avoided military conflicts so that they could not necessitate plebeians in each side again, and restricted subalterns access to the public, to the democratic societies and the vote, "The end-point of the regeneration was order and progress, but this could be accomplished only by severely reducing the political space open to subalterns." (Sanders, 2004a:172). No doubt. Regeneration was also a racial construction where "Blacks and

mulattoes – especially in discourse, if not in reality- would be pushed to the margins of the Colombian nation and state, isolated geographically and ideologically from the rest of the polity." (Sanders, 2004a:195).

3. A Form of black Marxism

The relationship between afrocolombians and the liberal party had a second turn around 1930 Colombia. When the "El Día del Negro" and "El Club Negro de Colombia" public events took place in 1943, the "Liberal Republic" government had been running since 1930. Indeed, liberals took full political control of the Colombia's presidency since then until 1946. Four crucial changes occurred during Liberal Republic period, that renewed and consolidated the old relationship between afrocolombians and liberals. First, liberals removed legal restrictions for the universal vote. Since the 1886 Constitution educated citizens with properties could vote. So, afrocolombians could fulfill these requirements massively. Now, every person over the age of 21 could vote. This gave afrocolombian not only the possibility to vote but also to elect their own representatives.

Second, liberal Republic promoted education on popular sectors. This included marginalized areas such as the Pacific region and the Caribbean. Particularly, these policies had a positive impact on afrocolombians in Chocó and the north of Cauca (Agudelo, 2005; Wade, 1993; and Pisano, 2012). This education policy would be central for regional black leaderships' agendas in Chocó and north of Cauca (Agudelo, 2005l Wade, 1993; and Pisano, 2012). Third, Liberal enacted the Law 200 of 1932, known as

"La ley de tierras" (Land Law). This law favored Afrocolombians land tenure. This was so important to the extent that afrocolombian mulatto and politician Alejandro Peña called it the "Second liberty" in 1943 (Pisano, 2012).

Forth, by 1940s, the popular liberalism had turned its political agenda towards a more socialist direction with the presence of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán (Agudelo, 2005; and Pisano, 2012), and despite the antipathy among elite liberals. By the time of the "El Día del Negro" and "El Club Negro de Colombia", black leaders Diego Luis Cordoba and his political movement "Acción Democrática" (Democratic Action) founded in 1932 in Chocó, and Alejandro Peña had been part of the left-wing section of liberalism. In the case of Natanael Díaz, Arquimedes Viveros and Marino Viveros would join the gaitanista movements around the time of the public events. In the case of Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella, they had been part of the Colombian Communist Party as well as the famous poet of the Colombian Caribbean, Jorge Artel[20] and the young Diego Luis Cordoba. These where public spheres where black agendas had no possibilities to flourish publically. These were spaces dominated by whites and mestizos, and their programs were socialists and communists. However, black politicians such as Natanael Diaz, Arquimedes Viveros, Marino Viveros and Diego Luis Cordoba found strategies to mobilize their racial agendas in these spheres.

They understood that the problems of afrocolombians in the Cauca Valley and

[20] On the other hand, although liberalism has influenced black politics overall, it does not deny the existence of black conservatives. In this case, Helcías Martán Góngora was one of the afrocolombian mulatto in the conservative party among many (Agudelo, 2005).

Chocó were related to class and race. As Arboleda states, "For Cordoba, from socialism one could struggle for radical and integral equality of blacks in conjunction with the other exploited of the country; there could not be such a split, because it was very much a theoretical or methodological artifice, typical of certain philosophers of the bourgeoisie, determined to confuse." (2016:225). What characterizes black Marxism in this black leadership was their critiques of capitalism from their black conditions. Socialism was the strategy to talk about and to solve the needs of Afrocolombians (Pisano, 2012; and Arboleda, 2016). Like their black counterparts in the United States (Dawson, 2001), "the theoretical issue of trying to reconcile the inter relationship between race and class led activists to Marxism as way to understand the ravages of capitalism (…) upon blacks" (Dawson, 2001:174). Thus, for these black leaders, class struggles articulated their racial struggles, "the condition that egalitarianism was of class, of race or of gender, represented the basis of [their] socialism." (Pisano, 2012:129).

To sum up, when the "El Día del Negro" and "El Club Negro de Colombia" public events took place in Bogotá, afrocolombians Natanael Díaz, Natanael Diaz, Adolfo Mina Balanta and Marino Viveros had come from a long tradition of racial conflict masked in the political disputes between Marxism, popular liberalism, (then, left-wing liberal), white elite liberalism and conservatives over Cauca Valley's land. In contrast, Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella had come from a long history of racial mixture whose racial regional formation promoted the ideology of racial harmony. Furthermore, the influence of the myth of racial harmony and the absence of an institutional racial discrimination in the Caribbean may explain why Manuel Zapata

Olivella perceived that their mulatto fellows from their region of origin lacked racial consciousness in contrast to their counterpart from the Cauca Valley.

4. Black politics in the World of Oral Tradition

I argue that oral tradition has been a *platform* from which a radical black intelligentsia started to take shape back from the colonial period in Latin America. I suggest that black oral traditions have been *historical subaltern black counterpublics* that have produced/reproduced *ontological black intelligentsia* as it reflects a rationality/subjectivity that describes black life-world distinct from that of the modern-western liberal rationality/subjectivity. It also reflects forms of social and cultural organization of the territory. To develop my argument, the common understanding of black oral tradition as simply folkloric expressions must be disrupted and displaced from its core definition.

From a cultural study point of view, politics and public spheres should not be reduced to discussions that deal exclusively with objects connected to activities of the Colombian State, and to written productions, accordingly (Habermas, 1991). Ideas and representations conveyed by cultural oral traditions, that activate what Hall has defined as the wars of representations (Hall…), must be included into what we understand as black counterpublics (Dawson, Hanchard, Sing).

I assume oral tradition as belonging to the realm of culture[21]. The key question now is what can, in fact, make black oral tradition a form of politics or counterpublics? In this regard, the distinction between *the oral tradition dimension of politics* and *the political dimension of oral tradition* must be made. When black oral tradition is at the purpose of the political parties and their cultural practices are inscribed within the domain of the political culture of Colombia[22], I define it as the oral tradition dimension of politics, because it aims at entertaining and please the potential supporters of a political candidate or campaigner. Then, black oral tradition becomes a political instrument in a macro level understanding of politics at the service of indistinct political candidacy[23]. In contrast, if black oral tradition aims at creating autonomous cultural process of black identity black organizations against power, I define it as the political dimension of oral tradition[24]. Thus, my approach to black oral tradition emphasizes its functions to communicate knowledge, arts, ideas and, among other things, afrocolombian cosmogony by the spoken word.

The dynamics of afrocolombian oral traditions have opened collective spaces for social and cultural interactions[25]. From an anthropological perspective, afrocolombian

[21] In Colombia, black oral tradition has mostly been studied as folklore (Velasquez, 1948) oral literature (Pedrosa el at., 1994); oral history (Lozoncy, (1999); Almario, (2001); and Escobar, 2008), and ethno-literature. For this, I want to propose a different perspective that allows me to analyze oral tradition's implications for the formation of what I call ontological black counterpublics.
[22] I draw on Alvarez el at. (1998) and Escobar (2014) to propose this formulation.
[23] For an example of how black oral tradition is intrumentalized see Carlos Agudelo (2005:149).
[24] From a micro level understanding of politics, see Arboleda (2016) and geographer Ulrich Oslender (2016).
[25] These have been defined as "symbolic organizations" by political scientist Carlos Afrén Agudelo (2005:149). He sustains that these cultural expressions produce signals of identification due to black oral tradition expresses their cosmogonies. Then, oral tradition is a form of representation of the social reality of afrocolombians (Agudelo, 2005).

intellectual Rogerio Velásquez Murrillo coined the expression "Palenque Literario", in 1960[26]. I want to suggest that Palenque literario is a more appropriate concept to capture the historical meaning of these local black counterpublics in the Pacific and the Caribbean coasts of Colombia. It describes properly the transition from the war of maneuver (marronage, rebellious and revolts) in the colonial era to war of position (democratic forms of organization and participations) in the democratic republics (Gramsci). Thus, Palenque literario must be understood as one of the first form and site of black politics in the racial hegemony of mestizaje in Colombia *around* the abolition of slavery in 1951.

It seems that his idea of Palenque seeks to remark local public spaces in which free afrocolombian peasants come together to interact and exchange, by the spoken word, their own perceptions as a public. These black peasant funerals show us that Palenque Literario may mean local public place[27]:

"The *coplas (rhymes*) that led to disorder were, almost always, boastful or arrogant. Expressed with the deliberate purpose to impose a prestige in the Palenque literario, or to seize a love that followed with the eyes, and the *intelligence* (of the) harmonious challenge, or to revive old quarrels missed in the far away waters of the

[26] In his work "Cantares de los Tres Ríos" (1960b), Rogerio Velásquez used it as metonymy to describe cultural and social interactions involved in black funeral rituals in the Pacific region. He neither defined conceptually nor provided theoretical framework for it. However, I argue that this phrase challenged negative ideas about the actual existing of a black culture in Colombia.

[27] Black velorios are significant for afrocolombian peasants. They bring people together from different kinship ties, settlements, and rivers. They are the occasion to express racial solidarity, to renew genealogical knowledge on kinship families, and ancestors, and to claim rights on the crafted exploitation of a mining village or on the communitarian land (Friedemann, 1985).

memory, the adventurous *verses* and the passionate candor of the *stanzas* were pricking, disseminating restlessness in the energetic *auditorium* (…)." (Velazquez, 1960b: 83).

The quote reveals "the basic blueprint" of the Palenque Literario. It is composed of (female or male) narrators, a public (auditorium), a physical space and themes. Arboleda describes these scenarios as follows: "These inter-generational spaces are a true cult of the word of the decimero (storyteller) which is of the everyone. While he speaks, everybody is quiet, at the most they can nod or deny with their gestures; Only at the end of the text can the listeners intervene with applause, questions, comments or laughs." (Arboleda, 2016:242). In this sense, Palenque Literario functions as salons and coffee societies worked for the bourgeois public sphere (Habermas, 1991): blacks' use of their own rationalities to debate, to recreate their identity and to circulate counter-discourses: "The 'poor people' interested in what is going to be recited take seats next to the storyteller, they drink and smoke, keeping a solemn and absolute silence to understand the anguish, the critique or the affection of narrators' plot." (Velásquez.1959a:6).

Literario, then, is the bearers of the black philosophy and consciousness in the local black public spaces[28]. For Rogerio Velásquez, afrocolombian oral tradition is a complex mode of thought, of conceptualization and of representation of the black life-world that comes from their own rationality, "because blacks sing to self-liberation, to

[28] Rogerio Velásquez pioneered the idea of classifying afrocolombian oral tradition as *Literary Art* in Colombia; as having intellectual value and virtuosity. He refused to reduce literary art exclusively to the beauty of the written words. In his work published in 1959 about the Chocoana canoe, he describes it as follow: "well, we arrive at literary art, the canoe considered as an object of written beauty. Origin of the song it has been in Chocó. Miners and lumberjacks, pecheros (taxpayers) and plebeians of the Pacific[,] and of more than three hundred rivers that are entangled from Ardita to the rivulet Mataje, have created the songbook that exalts it, (…)." (Velásquez, 1959:112-113).

love or to hate. They sing from their memories, social conflicts, superstitions that dominate the none trans-cultured groups, from myths and legends, when drinking and feeding. It could be said that the singing is a vital elixir that puts into motion what is [the] superior [forces] and in accordance to black's traditions and character with their customs and language, *arts*, religion and with their destiny that make them fall down and get up." (Velásquez, 1948:22/italic is mine).

By putting Palenque and Literario together, I can say that Palenque literario represents a subaltern form of black counterpublics, given the fact that it "sets its boundaries and its organization by its own discourse [afrocolombian oral tradition] rather than by external frameworks (…)." (Warner, 2002:74). Thus, the polyphony of palenque literarios created autonomously in free black territories constitute afrocolombian *ontological subaltern sociocultural institutions* as those of *salons* and *coffee societies and houses* constituted bourgeois' "institutions of public sphere" (Habermas, 1991). They were public "trees of words" or "houses of word", "special places where speech can be offered, dialogues had, and communication circulated according to notions of respect, order and equity. The importance granted to the fact, ability and act of speaking of the human person is expressed through various ways, all concretely enhanced in both the spiritual and material life." (Vété-Congolo:8)[29].

[29] Despite their differences, palenque literario still preserves some of Palenques cimarrones' attributes[29]. They both emerged under challenging circumstances and adapted themselves to new world contingencies. For example, their self-formation and organization in isolated areas or free black territories (Romero, 1995), their internal social organizations based on kinship ties (Friedemann, 1985:204); their own economic adaptation to the environment based on crops, agriculture, horticulture, hunting, fishing, and pharmacopoeia (Aprille-Gniset (---) and Mosquera); some forms of religiosity and collective cultural experiences (Friedemann, 1985), "with the river invariably being the central axis of orientation" (Oslender, 2016:97), black oral traditions; collective appropriation of the land. Also, both have provided political, economic, social, spiritual, and cultural institutions to Africans and African descendants out of what Vété-

Form a Marxist perspective, Antonio Gramsci (…) states, "Every social group, coming into existence (…), creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals (…). (Gramsci, 5). He is talking about organic intellectuals whose essential functions are to provide theory, ideology, and leadership to their own classes in the world of capitalist. I want to extend this definition to suggest that in the history of the African diaspora, every black community that has come into existence has been able to create their own specific form of black intellectuality to provide theory, ideology, and leaderships to black communities. In this sense, with the emergence of palenque literario, a black intellectual came into existence, too. I call it black oral palenque intellectuality (intellectual palenquero literario). The difference between them stem from their political platforms. While organic intellectual stands for class interests in the field of the political economy, black oral palenque intellectual uses their black traditional cultural practices to do so. Here, black oral palenquero intellectual resemble Fonon's native intellectual and Ferred's vernacular intellectual. Nonetheless, black oral palenquero intellectual differentiates themselves from those because black palenquero intellectual never passed through modern institutions of education, and they use their spoken words to make black life-world public and visible.

The figure of African griot is well used in Colombia to describe the "wise old man in charge of keeping alive in the collective memory, especially of the young and children, the history of the lineages and the important facts of the villages and

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Congolo called *inter-orality* (…); multiple traditions with roots in Africa, Europe and in the Americas (Vété-Congolo). Indeed, I would suggest that Palenque literario is a historical continuation of maroon societies in the republic of Colombia. Palenque literario inherited what I can call "cultural ethos" from Palenque cimarrones: a libertarian thought.

communities between the Bantu groups." (Arboleda, 2016:). By implementing my definition of Palenque Literario, I would like to propose a re-conceptualization of the African griot as black oral palenquero intellectual, understood as afrocolombian postcolonial griot (Farred, 2003:222). There are two fundamental and compelling historical facts for this re-conceptualization. First, anthropologist Losonzcy (1999) sustains that in postcolonial periods, black memory seems to be constituted by twofold obliviousness. There are not explicit references to Africa origins and slavery as I described it above. Instead, there are some ontological and implicit African traces camouflaged (mimetizado) in rituals, celebrations, funerals, and festivities.

Two, then African griot figures represent the central character of the social, cultural, and political organizations in Africa prior to the slave trade, and through colonialism. In contrast, I suggest that black oral palenquero intellectual relates to "the complex process that transforms black enslaved and free groups into a cultural nation and renacientes (reborns), the journey from the jungle to the sea, the coastal settlement of the riverbank, the broad circuits of navigation and cabotage, to the uses of specialized environment and the extractive cycles, river identity and local and regional religious devotions." (Almario, 2001:71), that, over the years, gave rise to new located black memories as constituting the polyphony of Palenque literarios in the Pacific region and the Caribbean.

There is another fundamental and compelling historical fact for this re-conceptualization. Their epistemological bases. Scholars usually conceptualize the

African griots within the cultural, geographic, or historical frameworks (see Pedrosa, el at., 1994:14; Arboleda, 2016; Oslender, 2003, Escobar, 2008). Then, African griots are sort of the "collective conscience, critics, and historians of local, national, and sometimes international events" (Pedrosa, el at., 1994:12). They are pivotal in cultivating and reaffirming the "local territorial epistemology" (Arboleda, 2016), the "local aquatic epistemologies" (Oslender, 2016), the "local model of the nature" (Escobar,2008:111-120), the ancestral knowledge, the "socio-cultural maroonism" (Losonzcy, 116) and the threefold related worlds (Vanín, 1993). No doubt, these are what Losonzcy calls as "a fluid subtle intellectual strategy" (Escobar, 2008:116); a relational epistemology of the black life-worlds that has challenged the modern binary system of thinking, and has been the core in process of imagining black cultural communities (Amario, 2001).

Thus, "if a social group's imagination (pueblo) works by their own historical materialities (vanin, colombia pacific), what happens with the presence of race and racism in their understanding of the African griots in Colombia? In this regard, I believe the theoretical model of black oral palenque intellectuality (intellectual palenquero literario) represents much better the historical figure who evolved out of the Colonial and republican experiences to preserve, cultivate and reproduce the African knowledge. Again, black oral palenquero tradition is a modern construction that evolved as postcolonial griots. Because of their experiences under Colonialism and Republicanism, black oral palenque intellectuality can reference racism from their experiences around the dynamic of the Palenque Literario.

There is one specific story in the Black oral tradition that I would like to reproduce and analyze to support my arguments. This story was collected by Rogerio Velásquez between 1955 and 1957 in the Pacífic region of Colombia. This story gives a sense of the way afrocolombians understood their worlds. Also, this story offers us a glance of the type of representations that have circulated in the Palenque Litararios. The name of this story is "El origen de la Nacion Blanca" (The Origin of the White nation),

> "God created a man and a woman. Both were black. In time, the marriage had two sons who were called Cain and Abel. Cain was evil and perverse, well, since he was a child, he dedicated himself to drink, women, and gambling. Abel, on the other hand, was good. He attended to religious mass, respected his parents and other people's things, and kept his promises. Cain, envious of his brother, killed him one afternoon when he returned from work. But as there is no hidden crime, God presented himself to Cain, reproached his behaviors and cursed him. The fear of Cain was so big that he paled on the way to white color that kept until his death. Cain was the father of the white nation on Earth." (Velásquez, 1960a: 11).

Like the story above, black oral traditions are full of references of color. Anyone can find white, black, and indigenous expressions in sayings, songs, and legends. Anthropologist Losonzcy found similar pattern in her study "Memoria e Identidad" (1999). By drawing her research on anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, she argues that black mythology consists of two narratives. One of the appearance of death and, the other, about bad elections. In her study, she analyzes an afrocolombian folk story like the above. She found that the bad choice, toward a divine figure, serves to represent the origins of black, white, and Indian nations and their hierarchical positionality. Thus, because of a bad election, represented in the story-tale as a black act of rebelliousness, blacks were cursed to serve whites.

There are some similarities between the above story and those studied by Losonzcy (1999). “The Origin of the White Nation” portrays references of the death, Abel is killed, and of the bad elections, Abel is killed by his brother, Cain. It also portrays reference of colors, yet just of two. Able represented as the black nation and Cain represented as the white nation. I agree with Losonzcy (1999) on the catholic religious influence on black memories and oral traditions. Its presence is undeniable in Catholic divine representations such a God. Plus, I may add up to this equation, the indigenous culture. Altogether, I agree with Losonzcy on the way slavery is depicted. There are some traces of it. They are colors and the assassination of the black nation, which represent the physical and psychological trauma of black death (Losonzcy, 1999). Depiction of slavery may be reflected on Cain.

Contradictorily, whites make the bad choice, not blacks. Cain represents all the stereotypes that the Catholic church and white intellectual and elites have cultivated about blackness in Colombia. Cain means whiteness, jealousy, laziness, and assassin. In contrast, Abel means blackness, virtuosity, goodness, and obedience. This representation of Cain as white nation may correspond with reality. It implies how Europe organized social relations between blacks and whites and built their empire: by subordination of blacks. The Cain’s curse also represents whites’ greed to conquer and possess the world by its favorite practice: assassination and dispossessing blacks’ life.

Traces of Africa is hard to find in the above story and those studied by Losonzcy (1999). However, there is a verse that may give some ideas of memories of Africa. In

fact, what black oral palenquero intellectual informs is his desire of freedom in the new world. Something that he had before slavery. It is freedom:

> "Mi dicha solo consiste,
> en tener mis platanales...
> En ser como el viento, libre,
> Sin mandarín que me mande."
>
> "My happiness consists just of
> having my own plantations
> Being like the wind, free,
> Without master ordering me."

This verse not only represents a previous social condition in Africa. It also represents a black project in the Colony. Blacks' constant and permanent desire of freedom. I would argue that this verse reflects the project and mentality of marron societies as well. Their permanent pursuit for land, autonomy, and freedom. Thus, if we pay attention to the process of free black territory formation in the pacific region and the Colombian Caribbean at the end of colonialism in America, we may find similar mentality: black people looking for places far away from whites, along riverbanks and free. Indeed, scholars (Losonzcy, 1999 and Almario, 2003) found that black people in these areas named themselves as *libres,* which means free. Or *renacinete,* which means reborn or subsequent generation. For this, I agree with historian Almario (2003) on that these forms of black organizations gave rise to a form of black ethno-genesis characterized by the formation of black communities, river identities, collective appropriations of territory based on kinship ties, and self-identification as libres and renacientes (Almario, 2002). What we must keep in mind is that this black ethno-genesis of the black cultural nation is racialized. It is not only about culture, it is also about race.

When the “El Día del Negro” and “El Club Negro de Colombia” public events occurred in Bogotá, the presence of black oral tradition, or black culture for that matter, was there. Black culture was part of the protest. It took the form of song (¡Ay mama Inés! ¡Ay mama Inés! ¡Todos los Negros Tomamos Café!”), poems (Candelario Obeso’s and Jorge Artel's poems), music, and dance (cumbia and Rumba). However, black culture was not displayed as Palenque literario or black oral tradition forms, in strict sense. In the public events, black culture took a modern form; an intellectual one. Black culture emerged as modern production of literature and folklore. Thus, “El Día del Negro” and “El Club Negro de Colombia” public events, indeed, represent a historical moment when, what I call as “black lettered palenquero intellectuals, emerged as an expression of a black modernity (Lao-Montes, 2010) in the world of letters.

5. Black Literature

Black counterpublics in the world of letters started with those black intellectuals whose intellectual projects have used the black culture (black oral traditions) as fundamental resource of their writing production, either novels, poems, or folkloric researches. I call this model of black intelligentsia, black lettered palenquero intellectual. Then, their writing involved references about black people, their cultural practices, and their marginalization. In a way, the black lettered palenquero intellectual affirmed black identity by telling-referencing the black life-world. A final characteristic of the black lettered palenquero intellectual is that their cultural production is the result of their interaction with black oral palenque intellectuality. These interactions occurred either by

the fact that they were born around the area where palenque literarios took form or by developing Field work investigations in them. Black counterpublics in the world of letters includes two sites and forms of politics. One relates to the literature and the other to what I have called, black politics of folklore (Valderrama, 2014). The first implies the writing of poems and novels. The second is about writing of black folklore and the performance of black music and dance.

Scholars agree that poet and liberal politician Candelario Obeso (1849- 1884), from Mompox, in the Colombian Caribe, was the pioneer of the black poem (Prescott, 1996), of black literature (Nina, 1986) of radical political thought (Arboleda, 2016), or of african diasporic thought (Caicedo, 2013) in Colombia. In his famous work, "Cantos Populares de Mi Tierra" published in 1877, Candelario Obeso exalted black culture with his poems. One of his famous and well known poems has been "Canción der Boga Ausente" in which he refers to the Palenque literario of Magdalena River where the black oral palenquero intellectual could cultivate black oral tradition when canoeing the river (see Caicedo, 2013:285). According to Friedemann (1986), Candelario Obeso' works claim social equality of the Colombian citizenship by portraying a plural identity and different sources of authenticity in the mestizo creole identity (Friedemann, 1986). Cartagenero and leftist poet, novelist and journalist Jorge Artel (1909-1994) is also considered one of the pioneers of the black literature (Prescott, 2002).

He inherited Candelario Obeso's work (Caicedo, 2013 and Prescott, 2000). In 1940, he publiched his well studied, quoted and ricited work "Tambores en la Noche". In

1941, he published his assey “Modalidades Artisticas de la Raza Negra”. With these works, Jorge Artel, like Candelario Obeso, affirmed and exlated black identity and african heritage in a way no doby did at the time (Prescott, 2002 and Caicedo, 2013). In the public events Candelario Obeso and Jorte Artel were not there phisically. Their poems were; poems, whose intellectual production, were well influenced by the negrismo and negritude moveent (Prescott, 2002).

6. Black Politics of folklore

In the black public events, black protesters chanted “¡Ay mama Inés! ¡Ay mama Inés! ¡Todos los Negros Tomamos Café!”, which is a Cuban tango-Congo-song composed by Eliseo Grenet and played around 1927 in Cuba. Along with this song, protester played Rumba and Cumbia. The former, a direct influence from Cuba, and the second, Cumbia, from the Colombian Caribbean. What is interesting for my analysis is the fact that protesters used these songs in their protest when the Colombian used a European type of music to define the national identity. As Wade (1998) describes, white elites in Bogota played waltz, Contradanza, Polka and Mazurka, Bambuco, Pasillo, Tango and Jazz related musical styles. So, the music protester played in their public events were represented as vulgar, foreign, and threat to the mestizo national identity (Wade, 1998 and 2000).

If we see the “El Día del Negro” and “El Club Negro de Colombia” public events just by its public and manifest expressions, we miss their historical roots. Most

importantly, we miss what they represented for the history of the black counterpublics in Colombia. This was a specific historical moment where afrocolombians developed webs of relations and collaborations with the purpose to address racial problems, although not without ambiguities, contradictions and lack of clarity. What I have described in this chapter is just what these public events connected; sites and forms of black politics that I name as black liberalism, negrismo, black culture, and Marxism. The dialogue has kept going until today when ideas of blackness such as black, afrocolombian, afro-descendent, raizal and palenquero keep claiming their regional construction of black identity. These constructions of blackness have been crosscut by negrism, folklore, Marxism, liberalism and conservativism. For now, let me analyze how these events opened new possibilities to affirm blackness and reveal racism.

CHAPTER 4
THE WEB OF RELATIONS OF THE BLACK COUNTERPUBLICS

In Colombia, black counterpublics is, structurally, constituted by webs of relations among afrocolombians. It started and developed not exclusively composed by afrocolombians. As I will describe below, it has, also, included some white left allies down the road. I draw on theories about "self-producing, autonomous entities whose basic internal organizations, despite important changes, is preserved in their interaction with their environments through structural coupling" (Escobar, 2008:259) to describe this structure. I argue that black counterpublics is a self-produced network of social relations and sites whose individual and groups' actions shaped and defined black counterpublics by building relations and interactions between afrocolombians that converged in cities and rural areas since 40s.

Between the 40s and 1960s, black counterpublic emerged as an autonomous space. It got consolidated during the 70s when new sites and forms of politics appeared in the public. During the former period, afrocolombians took their first steps to open it. Dialogues, debates, and social interactions between black folklorists, musicians, politicians, intellectuals, dancers, and poets were opened, then closed and opened again. This trajectory goes from black counterpublics dominated by the realm of politics to one dominated by black folklore and literature. As the reader will observe, when the 70s arrived, black counterpublics opened new spaces that got into conflicts with their predecessors.

1. Assembling Black Counterpublics

In the history of black politics in Colombia, the "El Día del Negro" and "El Club Negro de Colombia" were unique and exceptional public events. There was not another "El Día del Negro" protest in Colombia. As to the "El Club Negro de Colombia" public event, scholars suggest that it was short-lived, or "ephemeral" as an actual social organization (Pisano, 2012: 103). Prieto Pisano (2012) affirms that there is no any evidence that suggests otherwise. In drawing on social movements theories, Pisano states, "As a social movement, the Black Club was an isolated episode, which faced the difficulty of putting black condition as an openly political argument." (2012:106). In general, scholars agree that national black social movements claiming their racial identity would emerge only in the 80s (Agudelo, 2005; Pisano, 2012; Castillo, 2007, and Wabgou el at., 2012). I agree that it is hard to find any evidence that specifies if "El Club Negro de Colombia" was a long-lasting collective action, or if its former participants accomplished any of its programs (Pisano, 2012). Though the data is too limited to make any conclusive argument, I found some elements that indicate how these public events set in motion interactions, sites, and communications on which black counterpublics emerged as webs of relations and collaborations between black politicians, academic, novelists, poets, folklorists, dancers, and musicians with different political stances, and in multiple geographical locations, that propitiated national debates about what it means to be black in Colombia. These actors participate in forms of associations, public events, and network of collaborations.

"El Día del Negro" and "El "Club Negro de Colombia" sought to make racial domination visible in Colombia. They were public expressions of a racial project defined in term of physical characteristics- skin color (Agudelo, 2005; Pisano, 2012; Castillo, and Wabgou el at., 2913). From this point on, black counterpublics turned progressively to a much more predominant culturalist form whose terrain of racial contestation was, and has been, the racial dimension of the Cultural State in Colombia. To be more specific, black counterpublics became a subaltern intellectual project whose counter narratives contested racial domination conveyed in white and elites' intellectual productions of knowledge, the Educational system and the common sense. In this regard, most of the visible and autonomous sites and forms of black politics, that emerged between 1940s and 1970s in urban cities, sought to redefine the national identity of Colombia by making black history and culture public as a part of the history of Colombia.

The emergence of black Counterpublics can be better described as "meshwork": decentralized, self-organized, heterogeneous, multi-oriented goals constituted by nodes and sites that may or may not converge in similar places or discourses (Escobar, 2008). Thus, the first association that emerged after the El Día del Negro" and "El "Club Negro de Colombia" public events, was the "Centro de Estudios Afrocolombianos" (Center for Afrocolombian Studies) in Bogotá. Manuel Zapata Olivella, joined by former members of the "El "Club Negro de Colombia" and some other allies such as César Alonso, Marino Viveros, Carlos Calderón Mosquera, Delia Zapata Olivella, Baldomero Sanín Cano, Alberto Miramón, Natanael Díaz, Diego Luis Córdoba, Dulcey Vergara, Guillermo Naneti, Gregorio Hernández de Alba, and Duque Gómez, launched it after returning from

a long trip that started in 1944 and included countries in Colombia, Latin America, Centro America and the United States (Diaz, 2003).

On Sept 13th, 1947, when Manuel Zapata Olivella announced publically the creation of the Center, it had already passed a year after Manuel Zapata met African American intellectual and poet Langston Hughes and Peruvian indigenista and socialist Ciro Alegría in Harlem, New York, 1946 (Zapata, 1990:89-90; and Prescott: 2003:92). According to Prescott (2006), Manuel Zapata Olivella's staying in New York lasted about a year; time during which he developed a good relationship and long exchange of works, ideas and thoughts with Langston Hughes, who "introduced him into black literary, artistic, and intellectual circles (in New York), which in turn helped the young American mulatto traveler to discern the powerful intellectual force that propelled the African American struggle for liberation." (Prescott, 2006:91/parenthesis is mine).

In the mid-1947, Manuel Zapata Olivella returned to Colombia, and under the pseudonym of Manuel Karabali, Manuel Zapata Olivella reported the foundation of the Center in Cromos (1947), a newspaper in Bogotá,

> "Today, with a clearer vision of the reality of the blacks in America, stimulated by studies carried out in other countries of the continent and convinced that the task to begin studies about race are unpostponable, the same precursors of the movement (of "El dia del Negro" event) have founded the Centro de Estudios Afro-colombianos (Center for the Afro-Colombian Studies), under the technical protection of the Institute of Ethnology, led by Professor Luis Duque Gómez." (Karabali, 1947:9).

Several national and international factors converged around the formation of the

Center. In Colombia, white elites had designed educational policies to address the "degeneration" of the race in Colombia (Agudelo, 2005; Pisano, 2012; and Wade, 1993). They saw education as a perfect way to address issues of hygiene and illiteracy; issues seen as predominant in marginal and regional areas such the Pacific region and the Caribbean. For this, the Colombian State reoriented previous State Institutions and official journals (Ministry of National Education, National museums and Revista De las Indias), created new State Institutions and Journals (Escuela Normal Superior (National School) and the National Ethnological Institute; Boletín de Arqueología and Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional) and decreed new cultural State programs.

As scholars have also reported, popular culture became the object of study and of intervention by the Colombian State, academics (anthropologists, folklorists, etc.) and politicians turned their interests towards folklore, hoping to consolidate the national state by promoting a mestizo nation (Agudelo, 2005; Pisano, 2012; and Wade, 1993). Therefore, conferences, festivals, publications, tv and radio programs dedicated their efforts on promoting Colombian folklore or popular culture of the masses. However, afrocolombian geographic locations, cultural practices and history were not part of the *script* to redefine Colombian Identity. It was, in fact, quite the opposite. According to Alvaro Villegas (2008), Chocó, Magdalena and Cauca, places where afrocolombians have predominated, were strongly associated with beastliness, barbarianism, backwardness, laziness, and stupidity (Villegas, 2008). Then, the idea of mestizo nation denied, emphatically, its own blackness and embraced, partially, the indigenous culture as part of the long past but not of its present; Colombian indigenismo that related to

Vasconcelos' raza cosmica, and Mariategui' s, and Ricardo Rojas' Peru-india.

The predominant discourses of indigenismo as an object of study contrast, sharply, with the lack of interests for the study of the afrocolombian culture and history on the part of the Colombian state, white elite academics and politicians; contrast that becomes even sharper when observing how anthropologists developed their theories and methods to study indigenous communities. So, the "Centro de Estudios Afrocolombianos" sought to fulfill this racial academic gap. It aimed at providing academic works on subjects such as black history, linguistic and culture (Karabali, 1947:42). From a national perspective, it seems that the founders of the Center wanted to emulate what have been done for indigenous studies (Pisano, 2012:103; and Karabali, 1947:42). Also, from an afrodiasporic perspective, the Center sought to promote black cultural and historic studies in line with Centers such as those of Haiti that had done similar studies since 1932; Trinidad y Tobago since 1939; Brazil since 1941; Mexico since 1942; and Cuba since 1947 (Arboleda, 2016, Caicedo, 2013); let alone with negrismo in Cuba and Europe, Harlem-renaissance (the new negro) in the USA, "The Center for Afro-Colombian Studies [...] will advance research in accordance with the plans drawn by the other countries that operate in Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, the United States and other countries, (…)". (Karabali, 1947:9).

In this sense, the "Centro de Estudios Afrocolombianos" was an effort that sought to articulate the lack of interests on black studies in Colombia and the international encouragement made by the first International conference for Caribbean Archaeology in

1946 in which former participants exhorted nation-states and Universities in Latin America to intensify studies on black culture and history.

This afrodiasporic reference explains not only the Center's intensions about exchanging studies and works between Centers in the African diaspora, and the presence of Fernando Ortíz, from Cuba, and Arturo Ramos, from Brazil, as honorary researchers of the Center (Karabali, 1947:9), but also the support of Duque Gómez and Gregorio Hernández de Alba, whites and former directors of two important branches of Colombian National Ethnological Institutes. The Center's program proposed two field of studies as they are discribed in Table 4.

Table 4
4. The Center for Afro-Colombian Studies, Study Programs

Historical Studies	**Black Ethnologic Studies in Colombia**
a. Origin and time of appearing of blacks in Colombia: their origin, number, different human types, customs, beliefs, languages, distribution centers, their location and offices to which they were dedicated. **c.** Social Situation. **d.** The Conquest, the Colony, Independence and the Republic until today.	**a.** Ethnographic studies: location areas (environment, physical, adaptation and transformation). **b.** Ethnographic studies: -Material culture: pueblo and houses, acquisition and consumption of food; roads and transports; clothing and ornaments; weapons, containers, (…), musical instruments and toys. -Spiritual culture: dance music, painting, poetry, traditions, religion, medicines, etc.

The above programs show that it was not a simply cultural project. It was, also, an academic project planned to fulfill a racial gap within the culture of mestizaje practiced by the Colombian State into the educational system. Thenceforth, education acquired a

different meaning in this project. Previously, afrocolombians saw education as an upward social mobility strategy in their regions (Agudelo, 2005; Pisano, 2012; and Wade, 1993). In the process of the emerging of the black counterpublics, this meaning of the education included a new one. Education, or its academic practices, was, and still is, used to study, register and know about black culture and history. This new meaning of education was also possible due to the opening of new professional carriers in the social and human sciences. Before, afrocolombian leadership study laws to become politicians. Thus, black intellectuals such as Rogelio Velasquez, Aquiles Escalante, Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella had the opportunity to be trained in these new disciplines (Folklore, ethnology, medicine, history, etc).

In these disciplines, they studied black culture and history in an academic and political context oriented to study indigenous. On the other hand, some of them developed close relationship and shared interests in the study of black culture and history. This is the case of ethnologists Rogelio Velasquez, Aquiles Escalante; folklorists Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella, Teofilo Potes, Madolia de Diego, among others. In the next section, I explore the formation of this web of relations that worked as an academic and cultural platform to mobilize knowledge about black culture and history. This was a relational meshwork which networked different actors, with different political stances and in multiple locations that carried out similar academic and cultural project of making blackness public in Colombia.

The presences of afrocolombians in Bogotá made black network-building possible

among afrocolombians. Some of them published their works in the same Editorial. For example, Manuel Zapata Olivella, chocoano novelist and essayist Hugo Salazar Valdez, Carlos Arturo Troque (1927-1977), Arnoldo Palacios (1924) published their novels and poems in Editorial Iqueima, "whose owner was the Spanish exile Clemente Airó." (Prescott, 2000:62). Although the list of the black intellectuals, novelists, poets and essayists is much longer (see Friedemann, 1984; Lewis, 1987; Prescott, 1996 and 1999; Leal, 2007; Antón, 2003; and Arboleda, 2010, Caicedo, 2013, Valderrama, 2014), it allows me to illustrate the black networking relationship they started to build. Collaboration and solidarity would be the core aspect of these relationships as I describe below.

For example, since the "El Día del Negro" and the "Club Negro" public events, the presences of black students, politicians, novelists, poets, essayists and musicians in Bogotá was significant. My argument here is that afrocolombians started to mobilize black culture and history as a political project through relational meshwork. It networked individuals, groups and institutions in rural and urban places; in Colombian and elsewhere. In 1947 Chocoano Rogelio Velásquez publiched his first article named "Autobiografia de un negro chocoano" (autobiography of a black Chocoano) in the journal of the Cauca National Ethnological Institutes; institute directed by Gregorio Hernández de Alba, supporter of the "Centro de Estudios Afrocolombianos". In 1948, Rogelio Velásquez graduated as an ethnologist from this institute with a thesis named "Etnografia (biografica) y folklore del Chocó" (biographic) Ethnography of the Chocoano folklore) (Caicedo, 2013:447). Although at this point in history there is not

evidence to suggest a direct connection between Rogelio Velásquez and the founders of the "Centro de Estudios Afrocolombianos", I want to highlight Gregorio Hernández de Alba's presence in the Center and as director of the Cauca University's Ethnological Institutes from where Rogelio Velásquez graduated as an ethnologist.

Álvarez (cited by Caicedo 2013:443) points out that Gregorio Hernández de Alba participated in the first International conference for Caribbean Archaeology in 1946. This was the Conference that exhorted Latin America countries to develop Afro-Americans studies. Drawing on Álvarez's comments, Caicedo (2013) suggests, "The participation of Hernández de Alba in the Honduras event allowed him to recognize the scientific status that Afro-americanist studies in the continent, and most likely favored his support for Rogelio Velásquez's ethnological work on the culture of the Chocoanos" (Caicedo, 2013:444-445).

I would further suggest that the relationship that Manuel Zapata Olivella could have developed with Hernández de Alba, as supporter of the Center, might have not only favored Rogelio Velázquez's studies on black culture in Chocó but also it might have made both, the founders of the Center and Rogelio Velásquez, aware of their mutual academic interests. Particularly, Manuel Zapata Olivella would later develop a close relationship with Rogelio Velásquez to the extent that Manuel Zapata frequently visited him in Quibdó to discuss matters about proper ethnographic methods and strategies to study black culture and folklore (Interview. Cristina Isabel Velásquez. Quibdó, 2015).

In 1947, when Manuel Zapata Olivella launched the Center publically, he and famous young chocoano Arnoldo Palacios met in Bogota. Essayist and novelist Oscar Collazos from Buenaventura reports this events as fallows,

> "He (Arnoldo Palacios) meets other young writers of his generation, including Gabriel García Márquez, Manuel Zapata Olivella and Enrique Buenaventura; he knows and reads the poets of the movement Piedra y Cielo, becomes familiar with the poetry of Jorge Artel and becomes friends with the providential Carlos Martín, who 'allows him to use the typewriter of the Ministry of Education's office', where the author works in his [famous] novel. There, Palacios spent nights and days writing "La Estrellas son Negras". He finished it on April 8, 1948." (Collazos, 2010:16).

In 1948, when Rogelio Velasquez published his article "Notas sobre el folklore chocoano" in Revista de la Universidad del Cauca, an university jounal, chocoano Arnoldo Palacios finished his first draft of his well-known and famous novel. The manuscript was destroyed as the building where the manuscript was in, got burnt by protesters for the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán. As this respect, Prescott states,

> "Manuel Zapata Olivella encouraged Palacios to rewrite the manuscript that had been destroyed (…)." (2000:62). Accordingly, he did it and published it in 1949, "Shortly after, through the mediation of Manuel Zapata Olivella, (…) the original manuscripts of the novel (La Estrellas son Negras) fell in the hands of the Spanish editor and writer, Clemente Airó, an exile from the Civil War who had founded and directed the Editorial Iqueima." (Collazos, 2010:17).

Later, as the head of a collective of writers named "Alianza de Escritores Colombianos", Manuel Zapata also supported the publication of Rogelio Velásquez's novel "Las memorias del odio" in 1953 (Prescott, 2000). A year later, in 1949, Rogelio Velásquez published an article named "Las Estrellas son Negras" in which he praised

Arnoldo Palacios's novel. The journal was Sábado, from which I want to highlight the fallowing paragraph: "If history is race struggle, as defined by (Ludwig) Gumplowicz, this work, that sings the tenderness of the humiliated, is the human story of a population (pueblo) who cry when they could be happy." (Velasquez, 1949:). In the same way, Palacios, in turn, praised the work of Rogelio Velásquez way before he become a relatively well-known anthropologist (Sangre Nueva). Around the same time, Natanael Diaz interviewed Diego Luis Cordoba. This interview was published under the name of "a black viewed by another black: Diego Luís Córdoba" (Un negro visto por otro negro: Diego Luís Córdoba) published in the journal Sabado in 1947.

This was the first steps took toward the constructions of the web of relation and collaboration between black intellectuals. They were ethnologists, novelists and politicians that recognized each other as part of a subaltern social category as their academic, cultural and political works reflect or portray their interests in studying, composing poems, writing novels and proposing political programs that reflect the social, cultural and political conditions of the black communities in Colombia.

The emergence of black counterpublics as an urban phenomenon does not imply its absolute urbanization. There was not a disappearing of the regionalized, marginalized and individual black politics expressions. Black counterpublics was a parallel process that involved also regional-rural sites and forms of black politics that might or might not interact with sites and forms of black politics in urban cities such Bogotá, Cali, Medellin, Cartagena, etc. These rural-urban articulations occurred by being individual figures the

node of networks. For example, senator Diego Luis Cordoba, advisory board member of the Center, struggled, for several years, to change the political and administrative Chocó status to pass from being just an Antioquia's dependency to be an autonomous department (Pisano, 2012; Wade, 1993; and Agudelo, 2005); political and legal fights that he, and Pedro Pablo Lozano, Jaime Bustamante Ferrer, Pedro P. Perez Sotomayor and Adán Arriaga Andrade, started since 1944 (Pisano, 2012:165); a year after the El Dia del Negro and Cub Negro public events.

As Pisano (2012) reports it, this initiative faced racial obstacles in Congress. Opponents, mostly white conservatives from Antioquia, argued against it. They based their arguments on racial discourses. They expressed that afro-Chocoanos were not capable of governing themselves. In fact, they use racial epithets to associate afrocolombians with race, poverty, indolence, and sickness (Pisano, 2012; Wade, 1993; and Agudelo, 2005). Pisano (2012) reports that the use of racial language provoked reactions on the part of the black citizenship. Although, a black politician would be appointed to this position much later in 1966 when Ramón Mosquera Rivas occupied the office (Pisano, 2012), no doubt this represents a significant success for afrocolombians in Chocó around this time.

During 40s, afrocolombian peasants were progressively losing their land property, "Finca Tradicional", and their cacao crops in the Cauca Valley due to the intensification of the sugar industry in the area. At the time, the demand for sugar cane and products grew significantly, and even more when the Cuban revolution occurred in 1950s. In this

international context, Colombia replaced Cuba as the US supplier of sugar productions (Pisano, 2012; Angulo, 2005; De roux, 1991). In addition, Colombia and Ecuador signed a Cacao trade which guaranteed the importation of Cacao from the latter (Pisano, 2012). Then, black politics dedicated their efforts in developing strategies to protect the local economy and afrocolombians' land. Since 1933, Alexander Peña denounced the issues affecting the crops of afrocolombian in the Cauca Valley in an article published under the name of "El problema de las enfermedades que afectan los cultivos." (Pisano, 2012). Years later, in 1944, Alexander Peña, himself, opposed publically against the importation of cacao from Ecuador because it had negative impacts on the afrocolombian cacao productions and the loss of their Fincas traditionales (De roux, 1991:131-132).

Similar project can be found in Natanael Díaz political actions. He developed several strategies for afrocolombian farmers to keep their lands, although Pisano (2012) points out he and Arquimedez Viveros did not say anything about the negative impact of the Sugar Mills on the declining of the cacao crops and loss of the Finca Tradicionales. In 1945, Natanael Díaz proposed a bill in the house of representative that sought to grant economic aids for peasants' social organizations such as the "Cooperativa Cacaotera Norte Caucana" composed by afrocolombian peasants in the Cauca Valley. A year later, in 1946, he also proposed a bill that became Law 57 of 1947 in Colombia that aimed at increasing the Cacao productions in the Valley. In 1957, he promoted long term economic loans for cacao farmers, and, in 1958, he proposed a bill that sought to defend cacao crops (Pisano, 2012).

2. The Political Violence and the De-assembling of the Black Counterpublics

The political and social conditions for the assembling of the black counterpublics changed dramatically in 1949, when left-wing populist and liberal leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán was killed in Bogotá. His assassination not only led to a violence period of political and social unrest between conservatives and liberals, and their supporters in Colombia -1948 and 1958 (Múnera, 1998; Gilhodès, 1970); determined the establishment of the military dictatorship by Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, 1953- 1957; but also had a strongly negative impact on the networking processes that black politicians, intellectuals and cultural activists were progressively building upon the type of collaborative relationships that gave rise to the emergence of the black counterpublics in 1943. Thus, its structural consolidation suffered a short disintegration until its resurgence around mid 50s when afrocolombians activated new forms of collaborative relationships to promote black culture and history from much more consistent and articulated cultural platforms.

With the signing of National Front agreement, violence became one of the national political strategies of the Colombian State to deal with social conflicts (Múnera, 1998:136). This was a period of restricted democracy; of excessive use of violence and military forces; and of criminalization of the social protest (Torres, 2007; Gilhodés, 1970; and Múnera, 1998). While the Colombian State repressed, criminalized, persecuted, and prosecuted social and political protests, the Colombian State also re-enforced functional political party clientele networks to secure social, political and economic stability

(Archila, 2005; Pisano, 2012; Angulo, 2005; and De roux, 1991). Thus, both had a significant and dreadful impact on the continuation of the black counterpublics since black politicians lost presence and autonomy in the political realm. In fact, during the National Front period, the racial projects carried out by black politicians such as Diego Luis Cordoba in Chocó and Alejandro Peña, Natanael Díaz and others in the Cauca Valley, were either repressed or washed-out of socialist liberal party platforms because of the new political regime that used violence to destroy political antagonism or party political clientele to co-opt it. In this political context, the new generation of black politicians abandoned completely their predecessors' racial projects (Angulo, 2005; and De roux, 1991).

As I have been showing, members of the web of relations that constituted the emergence of black counterpublics were leftist members of the liberal party as well. Like white left, blacks were also persecuted and prosecuted by the State. After the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, Manuel Zapata Olivella felt compelled to leave Bogotá. He then went to a small town in La Paz, Valledupar, near Venezuela. In "Levántate Mulato", he describes the situation as fallows,

> "Graduated from the University, persecuted by my ideas and militancy in favor of the social revolution, my life in the capital of the Republic (Bogotá) was counted as one of the graves in the cemetery. Some resident cousins on the border of Venezuela gave me refuge in the province of the Valle de Upar. I chose the limits of the homeland because it allowed me to reject the idea of self-exile and continue assuming a position of struggle with my people." (Zapata, 1990:288).

Jorge Artel was arrested in the aftermath. In his study, Prescott recounts the incident, "Artel, who sympathized with the left wing of the liberal party, and other

outraged citizens were detained by the authorities in Cartagena when they marched upon the naval base. After less than a month of detention Artel and his companions were released." (Prescott, 2003:84). Shortly, after the killing of his friend Braulio Henao Blanco, which anticipated the departure of Artel, he left Colombia and went to Caracas, Venezuela in 1949. Similar occurred to Arquímedes Viveros. According to Ayala (…) dictator Rojas Pinilla in addiction to subdue the protest in Colombia, he himself persecuted and confined Arquímedes Viveros in Pasto; a city miles away from Puerto Tejada.

Like Jorge Artel, Natanael Diaz also was arrested in the aftermath. His case was much more dramatic, but also fascinating. He was in Bogotá when Jorge Eliécer Gaitán's assassination. When I interviewed Eduardo Diaz, one of the Natanael Diaz's children, in 2016, Bogotá, he remembered how his father was arrested and beat up by the police officers when Natanael Diaz returned to Puerto Tejada. According to Eduardo Diaz, the police beat him up so much and so badly that Natanael Diaz lost one of his eyes. After several political and social maneuvers, Diaz´s relatives managed to take him out of jail, months later (Interview, Eduardo Diaz, Bogotá, 2016). In his study, Mateo Mina provides a testimony that explains why Natanael Diaz was persecuted by conservatives in power. The testimony narrates how Natanael Diaz led a group of students to a radio station to encourage afrocolombians in Puerto Tejada to go out and protest the assassination of Gaitán: "At that time, Dr. Natanael Díaz in Bogotá with other students took over the national radio station; alert macheteros from Cauca! Get on the street to take revenge for the assassination of Jorge Eliecer Gaitán! That is true. So, for this Nathanael was

persecuted." (Mateo Mina, 2011:137). In June 14, 1964, Natanael Diaz passed away in Bogotá.

The epoch of the violence in Colombian affected black counterpublics in another sense. The political clientele networks created during the National Front set new forms of subordinations in motion within the political realms. Mainly, afrocolombians in the regions lost the presence as black representatives that partaken their racial demands and needs. In the Cauca Valley, local politics became more and more subordinated to the political power led by whites in Popayan; subordination that cannot be fully understood without recognizing the expansion of the sugar industry, the increase of the economic power on the part of industrialists and landowners to impose their interests and the loss of the lands on the part of afrocolombians to the former (De Roux, 1991:10-1).

The social conditions of Afrocolombians got worse. They were proletarized and became the reserve army of labor in sugar plantations, and, in other cases, displaced from their land to urban cities, such as Cali. On the other hand, black political leadership was broken during the time of the National Front. The liberals co-opted black leaders of the Cauca Valley who had very good reputation among afrocolombians. They were used to penetrate and to turn the reluctant black electorate from north of Cauca to support the liberal party led from Popayan (Mateo Mina, 2011:142-143). Thus, in election days, those afrocolombians impoverished trended to sellout their votes for money; or to vote for black candidates supported economically by industrialists, landowners and white politicians in Popayan. In this context, "to have public services, a school, a bridge, or a

road passed from being a right to be a favor of the local politicians, but specially from white leaders of the departmental." (De Roux, 1991:11).

Under these economic and political circumstances, the radical black leadership that emerged around the 40s ended, and with them ended explicit reference and discourses of race. Then, from 1950s onwards, the predominant idea that afrocolombians only vote for afrocolombian liberals changed completely (Agudelo, 2005: De Roux, 1991; Mateo Mina, 2011). As I will describe below, many other political and social actors entered the region to dispute not only the black electorate but also black autonomous grassroots organizations. Among them, liberal, conservative, radical and moderate leftist organizations.

After the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, thing also changed in the political realm in Chocó. Political disputes between Adan Arriaga and Diego Luis Cordoba ended. They became political allies. Also, the latter moved up positon in the liberal party. Diego Luis Cordoba left the leftist radical wing of the party and became moderate until his death in 1964. Also, he collaborated in the design of the National Front agreement. Although, new generation of chocoano politicians campaigned on behalf of Democratic Action until end of the 90s, the popular acceptance of the political organization would never be the same. In fact, Democratic Action lost political power at both the local and national levels. Like in the Cauca Valley, in the new department of Chocó, many other political and social actors entered the region to dispute the political control of the field. Among them, liberal, conservative, radical and moderate leftist organizations.

The lack of studies or my incapacity to find bibliography about black struggles in the Colombian Caribbean prevent me to describe or provide any information about what blacks were doing in term of political, cultural and social organizations. The references I could get from activists and former participants of the negritude movements report that forms of black political or social organizations emerged after the mid 70s. This is a deep debt that we owe to the Colombian Caribbean and San Andres and Providence.

3. The Resurgence of the Black Counterpublics

Under the dictatorship of Rojas Pinilla in Colombia around 1950s, black counterpublics re-emerged in its folkloric forms. I suggest that this new phase required that Palenque Literario (dances, music expressions and oral traditions) becomes more and more modern urbanized cultural expressions that worked as black self-affirmations. Black politics of folklore emerged out of this context. They were afrocolombians who used black folklore as a platform to question ideas of national identity by affirming their blackness as part of the nation, as Manuel Zapata Olivella states it, “neither Delia (Zapata Olivella) nor I were simple collectors of the forgotten [black] heritage; we learned from it (nos nutrimos de ella) to dignify it (black culture), to take it to the most diverse scenarios without more interest than to affirm our origins and culture.” (Zapata, 1997:25).

I propose to define these afrocolombians as lettered palenquero intellectual (intelectuales letrado palenqueros); because, like the black vernacular intellectual (Farred,

2003) and the native intellectual (Fanon, [1963] 2004), the lettered palenquero intellectual used the palenque literario as their core resource to mobilize their cultural project. They were lettered intellectual because they had possibilities to access to formal education in schools and universities in cities; and they learned how to write, read and think through the logic of the academia. However, instead of reproducing the what the system of racial presentation dictates about black culture and communities, these black intellectuals decided to dispute the meaning of blackness by promoting what they saw was valuable, useful, and virtuous about black culture to affirm blackness. On the other hand, they were somehow connected and/or exposed to their local and regional experiences of the Palenque Literario, either by being themselves born or having a relative or friends who was born in the Palenque Literario. In this sense, these intellectual inherited the cultural ethos of the Palenque Literario preserved by the black palenque literario intellectual.

By late 50s, while black public spheres were fading away in the realm of politics, their presence grew in the field of the national folkloric and cultural scenarios. Its reemergence found in culture, intellectual and folklore productions a crucial way to keep blackness visible. By this time, forms of associations and individuals' actions appeared in publics promoting and defending their cultural construction of blackness from their own regions or cities. What previously constituted black counterpublics as a national articulation of regional construction of blackness in Bogotá, changed to a more complex web of sites, forms and relations located in multiples small towns, cities and rural areas of Colombia.

The trajectory of this emergence of the black counterpublics in the cultural realm can be described as the return to the black cultural roots, and its former cultural figures are those who I call as black lettered palenquero intellectual. These black intellectuals felt the need to return and make black culture public because of the denying of black presence by the ideology of mestizaje in national spaces such as the academia. Then, their returned to palenques literarios, established dialogues or exchanges wisdoms with their black counterparts to comprehend black culture.

Every black town or association in the Pacific and in the Colombian Caribbean had a form of black lettered palenquero intellectual who used the black culture (black oral traditions) as fundamental resource of their writing, either novels, poems, or folkloric dance, music and researches and productions. Among the most well known in Colombia are folklorists Teofilo Potes, Mercedes Montaño and Margarita Hurtado; musician Urbano Tenorio, and Petronio Alvares from Buenaventura. In Chocó, folklorists Alfonso Córdoba Mosquera, "EL Brujo" and Madolia De Diego; ethnologists Rogelio Velasquez; musician Antero Agualimpia; and novelists and essayists Arnoldo Palacios and Miguel Caicedo from Chocó. In Guapi, novelist Helcias Martan Gongora and songwriter and folklorist Estaban Cabezas Rher. In north of Cauca Valley, dancer and signer Leonor Gonzales Mina, folklorist and fencer Alonso Sandoval and politician and folklorist Celina. In the Colombian Caribbean, drum player Batata III, folklorist dancer and teacher Lorenzo Miranda and the musician group "Las Alegres Ambulancias" from Palenque de San Basilio; siblings Zapata Olivella from Lorica Cordoba; Jorge Artel from Cartagena;

vallenatero musician Jorge Duran, “El Negro Duran”, and ethnologist and anthropologist Aquiles Escalantes. Then, literature, (novels, poems, essayists and playwrights), music (songwriters, signers, musicians) folklore (dancers, folklorist researches, etc.) and the academia where the sites and forms of black politics that constituted cultural movements that gave rise to black counterpublics in the realm of culture.

These black intellectuals had different agendas and influence. Not only from the idea of folklore, understood as traditions, antiques, and so, but also from the African diaspora. Negrismo were already expressed in the poem of Jorge Artel. With no much precision, some folklorists expressed similar trends in their folkloristic work. For example, Delia Zapata Olivella, Teofilo Potes, Mercedes Montaño and Margarita Hurtado. Cuban son had already influence music groups such as Las Alegres Ambulancias from the Colombian Caribbean, Estaban Cabezas Rher’s compositions and Urbano Tenorio’s band and Petronio Alvares’s music from Buenaventura. Finally, ethnologist and anthropologist Aquiles Escalantes and Rogelio Velasquez. While black intellectuals from the Colombian Caribbean promoted a form of mestizo black identity (e.g. the siblings Zapata Olivella), the others from the Pacific region portrayed their blackness as not mixed.

Despite their differences, let me highlight what they had in common as black lettered palenquero intellectuals or black cultural association. Either in literature, folklore or music, these black intellectual produced knowledge or cultural productions having as a main themes, characters and protagonist the members of the black communities, their

black cultural expressions, and histories; which included Africa, slavery and republicanism. However, I cannot say that they all had an anti-racist agenda. From my previous work (Valderrama, 2014), I know for sure that Teofilo Potes, the siblings Zapata Olivella, Regelio Velasquez, Aquiles Escalante, and Jorje Artel had an anti-racist cultural agenda. Their anti-racist agenda did not have systematic discourses about racism as we know of it today. Indeed, they did not use that language of racism or racial structure or systematic racism. However, they describe the subordinated condition of afrocolombians in contrast to whites and mestizos (Valderrama, 2014). For the others, we need to develop some studies to determine that.

Parallel, there were forms of associations that also promoted black culture around the 50s, although they were short-lived experiences. One was called "Comite de Asuntos Afrocolombianos". Mosquera (2002) sustains that Natanael Diaz funded this organization in Bogotá in 1950. Its goal was to promote black cultural traditions. Although Mosquera does not provide more details about this organization, he suggests that black intellectuals and politicians such as Manuel Zapata Olivella, Juan Zapata Olivella, Nestor Urbano Tenorio, Adan Arriaga Andrade and Diego Luis Cordoba were part of this association. Finally, Arboleda (2010) describes what he calls "Colonias": forms of autonomous social institutions or organizations composed of black immigrants from the same place of origin. Thus, by the 80s several "Colonies" had been constructed in central cities such as Cali, Buenaventura, Bogotá and Medellin (Agudelo, 2005; Arboleda, 2011; and Wade, 1993). Colonies became fundamental to the production and reproduction of black cultural practices in Colombia since that time. Today, these colonias are articulated in a

federation of Colonies.

Black Tertulias have been a crucial in the formation of black counterpublics. Since the "El dia del Negro", black tertulias have allowed afrocolombians to get together and debate, from different perspectives and political principles; aspects related to their own individual and regional experiences. In house coffees, hotels, restaurants, university residencies, on the streets, and everyday conversations, etc., afrocolombians have been able to exchange ideas, circulate reading materials, and organize public events. Its relevance for the constitution of the black counterpublics stands for it has been alternative spaces for afrocolombians not only to congregate but also to express and share their racial concerns in cities.

Its pattern of formation present similarities. Young afrocolombians that came from different towns and rural areas of the Pacific region and the Colombian Caribbean to major cities, such as Cali, Bogota, Medellin, Pereira and Popayan, among others, for high education, faced racial discriminations and exclusion:

> "They were also student movements because they were those who started thinking, and suffered racism in the center of the country. It does not emerge in Buenaventura, Tumaco, Quibdó, it does not emerge even in Cartagena. It does here, where the they make me feel the other. Look at the history of how Soweto started in Pereira where they make you feel the other when they call you "Negro cuscú" (negative expression); a concept of the Atlantic coast used by Paisas to call us black." (Interview, Juan De Dios Mosquera, Bogota, 2015).

In addition, black tertulia stated as the result of homesickness and loneliness and the desire of sharing news and information from their regions of origin in these cities.

These circumstances facilitated the emergence of black tertulias. In some cases, black tertulias went from informal and festive meeting to formal dynamics and socio-cultural organizations.

What I want the reader to keep in mind is that, black tertulias were not only public spheres in the world of letters, characteristics associated with bourge public sphere (Habermas, 1996). Black tertulias were also about party, music, dance, and enjoyment. Then, afrocolombians galvanized negritude from multiple sources and forms. Music from Cuba (son, rumba, boleros, etc.), Colombia (cumbia, black traditional music, son and boleros -Leonor Gonzales Mina), Puerto Rico and New York (Salsa, Timbal, Pachanga, etc.); literatures from the Caribbean (Negritude), United States (Harlem renascence, the civil right movements, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, etc.), Colombia (Candelario Obeso, Manuel Zapata Olivella, Jorge Artel, etc.), and Europe (Marx, Lenin, etc.).

When the 70s arrived, the black political of folklore had gained some contradictory and ambiguous visibility. White allies, among them playwright Enrique Buenaventura, were crucial on this. Colombia institutionalized folklore and the popular culture. Since the 40s, the Colombian state created and sponsored centers and institutions for the study of the Colombian folklore; festivals, Congress, conferences, TV and radio programs, bibliographies, compilations and books. Every town or city in Colombia held folkloric activities in any of these forms. These cities also sponsored competitions of traditional dances, music and clothing; studies and carriers; folkloric groups and bands (Miñana, 2000). The presence of folkloric groups and bands increased. Even private and

public companies had folkloric dance groups or bands. In this context, folklore became folklorized. That is, folklore was an entertainment, tradition -in the sense of antiques- and de-politicized.

In this context, black politics of folklore was also folklorized. If black politics of folklore sought to convey the way of life of the afrocolombian –black culture- in their performances, the Colombian society perceived and reduced them to their ability to dance. Our main contributions to the nation then were our dances and music. Plus, our abilities to sports (Fútbol and box). Black novelist, poets and essayists, and their intellectual productions were hidden (see Prescott, 1996 and Friedemann, 1984). To the point that many of us did not know that Diego Luis Cordoba and Natanael Diaz, black politicians of the 40s, were also essayists and poets. In term of their political contributions, Colombia did not know and still do not know about the importance of these black leaders to the development of the nation. On the other hand, expressions of black culture or folklore perceived as less black became much visible than those perceived as blacker (Wade, 2000). For example, Cumbia was perceived as mestizo dance. It became popular at the expense of its blackened version or currulao from the Pacific region. The latter came to be popular year after in the multiculturalist period.

This is very important to understand black counterpublic. New sites and forms of black politics that emerged during the 70s would develop critiques against this folklorized version of the black politics of folklore. They proposed to eliminate black folklore and replaced it with black culture (see below). On the other hand, these new sites

and forms of politics would include in their agendas (of affirming blackness and revealing racism) how much black communities had contributed to the nations. Just not only in term of culture but also in terms of politics, labor work, intellectuality, and so.

In the next section, the reader will observe how black counterpublics consolidated an alternative Structure of politics for afrocolombians. This structure of politics would incorporate new sites and forms of black politics. Some of these sites and forms of black politics developed a much more systematic language or discourse on race and racism. In this sense, they were more confrontational than their predecessors. Negritude would be the catalyzer of these anti-racist projects.

CHAPTER 5
BLACKS IN THE LEFT

In this section, I examine the negritude movements in Colombia. In addition to literature, folklore, liberalism and Marxism, black counterpublics included new sites and forms of black politics as the presences of afrocolombians increased in major cities of Colombia. For this dissertation, I focus mainly on Cali and Bogotá. Several of the black political activities that occurred in these cities connected other sites and forms of black politics of other regions and cities. In general, the configuration of the black counterpublics during the 70s describe a general crisis of the political system in Colombia; mostly, since the National Front agreement between liberals and conservatives. Black intellectual Alfredo Vanin describes it as follow: "This rupture is also due to the emergence and legitimization of the parties of the left who come to break that (liberal-conservative) hegemony; at some point people were either liberal or conservative or nothing, (...)." (Interview, Afredo Vanin, Bogotá, 2016). In this context, Mosquera (2002) reminds us, "since the 70s, our [black] communities have become apathetic and indifferent to politics." Disillusion on some of the old sites and form of black politics led new generations of black leaders to open new sites and forms of black politics or to refashion them.

I have identified multiple sites and forms of black politics during the 70s. Old and new ones. They are, palenque literario, black politics of folklore (dance and music) black literature (poems, novels, and essays), black tertulias, black student groups, black socio-cultural organizations, black liberalism and blacks in the Left. Each fashioned discourses of negritude in their own ways. For this section, I will focus mainly on four sites and forms of black politics whose actions involved old sites and forms of black politics. They

are: a. Blacks in the Left; b. The Mestizo Negritude; c. The Liberal Negritude; and d. The de-subjugating Black Culture. What follow is an examination of how these sites and forms of black politics emerged, and their political and cultural anti-racist agendas. To do this, I dedicate one chapter for each of these sites and forms of black politics. The chapters are distributed in a chronological order. They start with black in the Left and end with de-subjugating black culture. This order also shows how the discourses of negritude moved towards its radicalization and/or afrocentric modalities.

In Colombian, there is a long history of afrocolombians in the left. Nevertheless,

studies dedicated exclusively to examine their participation in the left organization is a task to be done. In this chapter, I explore the influence of the Left in the negritude movements. Three goals I pursue here: a. to survey the presences of afrocolombian in left during the 70s; b. to analyze how afrocolombians in the left reconciled race and class; and c. to provide some examples about how the left work with and/ or in black communities. My analysis here does not pretend to be exhaustive. The *political field of the left* (Archila, 2004) in Colombia is very complex to study all in one chapter. It includes organizations influenced by Karl Marx (Marxism), Vladimir Lenin (Leninism), Mao Tse-tung or Mao Zedong (Maoism), Leon Trotsky (Trotskyism), Ernesto Che Gevara and the Cuba revolution (Guevarism). This political field also includes "the combination of all forms of struggles" (Archila, 2004); involves political parties, social organizations, armed guerrillas, student and labor unions, and supporters, intellectuals and cultural artists.

It is important for the reader to keep in mind the high level of conflict and dispute between these diverse political trends. To the point that they accused, persecuted and executed fellow counterparts from other organizations (Archila, 2004). On the other hand, there were junctures when they coalesced for political and ideological reasons. These are expressions of what Archila and Cote (2009) call the New left.

1. The Presence of Blacks in the New Left

The Colombian Communist Party (CCP) is the oldest leftist organization in Colombia. It is a Marxism-Leninism oriented political party and organization that had supported students, armed groups and social organizations in its historical trajectory (Archila, 2009; and Delgado, 2009). Since its foundation in 1930, the presence of afrocolombian have been permanent. It is hard to determine for this dissertation if it was massive or not. However, in previous chapters I mentioned that representative afrocolombian leaders such as Jorge Artel, young Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella, Esteban Cabezas, young Diego Luis Cordoba, among others, were part of CCP. Since 1959, new left collectivities emerged; social, cultural and political organizations with new political ideologies fed by old dissidence from communism, like anarchism and Trotskyism, and by the Maoism, Cuban revolution and guevarista. What these left movements manifested is an "exacerbated critique against the "traditional" left, communist and socialist, considered dogmatic, bureaucratic and not very revolutionary. In contrast, pacifist and anti-state ideals were disseminated, while a direct democracy was advocated [to be achieved] "here and now" and a rebellious spirit capable of opposing both capitalism and Soviet communism with significant counter-cultural and hedonistic components." Archila and Cote (2009:67/quotation marks from the original).

During the 70, the presence of the new left did not mean the disappearing of the old ones.

The CCP had branches all over Colombian (Delgado 2009). Its presence in rural areas, towns and cities were through supports to labor unions and high school and university student organizations -Juventudes Comunistas (communist youth)-JUCO-. The

presence of afrocolombians in regional and national unions was predominant, and some of them occupied position of leadership in these organizations. For example, in Port Labor Unions in Cartagena, Buenaventura and Tumaco; in the railway union in Buenaventura and in the Sugar Cane labor unions in the State of Valle and of Cauca. In Buenaventura, the CCP presence took these two forms. Alicia Camacho, afrocolombian cultural activist who danced and sang in the folkloric dance group created by Teófilo Potes in Buenaventura, and her brother Eusebio Camacho (one of the leader of Soweto) participated in CCP branch in Buenaventura, through the JUCO. She remembers,

> [F]rom 64 to 68, I was in the Communist Party, (…), the activism was to slide pamphlets under the house doors and the union struggle. At that time, I was with the [Buenaventura] Port union. The union struggle was being formed; but (...) in the Port union, there were people who presented themselves as members of the Communist Party (…). (Interview, Alicia Camacho, Buenaventura, 2015).

The Movimiento Obrero Independiente Revolucionario (Revolutionary Independent Labor Movement) -MOIR-, Maoist oriented organization (Munera, 1998) was created and led by white-mestizo Fransico Mosquera. Like the CCP, MOIR had presence allover Colombia. The MOIR was founded in Medellin in 1969. Initially, it congregated students, intellectuals, and a few union workers. Leopoldo Múnera (1998) states that these actors had in common their non-militancy in any political parties, and their critiques towards CCP and Central Union Labors (Munera, 1998). Well influenced by the Chinese cultural revolution (Mao Tse-Tung), Moir sought to form a National Liberation Front. From mid 70s on, MOIR influenced in labor Unions and student organizations in Buenaventura, Cali, Bogota and the Colombian Caribbean. In its beginnings, MOIR did not consider participating in electoral politics, however, by 1973,

Moir coalesced with CCP and created UNO (Union Nacional de Oposición) to participate for electoral office positions (Munera, 1998).

Members from black student groups such as “Soweto” in Pereira, “Joven Internacional” in Bogotá, the “Bloque Uganda” in Cali, and a black student group in Popayan (see Chapters 6 and 7) were also participants in the JUCO. Some others participated in student associations influenced by the revolutionary principles of Camilo Torres, Ernesto Che Gevara and the Cuba revolution. Others participated in student organizations influenced by the philosophy of Leon Trotsky (Trotskyism). Juan de Dios Mosquera, former leader of the black organization Cimarron, remembers, “in the process of formation, I read a lot the magazines that came from the Soviet Union, I was subscribed to Prisma Internacional, a Cuban magazine, and I was affiliated to Notebooks of Socialism, a Soviet magazine that came here to Colombia in moments in which the communist movement was strong, and that influence could not be denied. (Interview, Juan de Dios Mosquera, Bogota, 2015).

Of the former participants in the left that I had the chance to interview, MOIR was one of the organizations whose afrocolombian presence was significant, although not massive. In Cali, MOIR had a theater organization called “Teotro Foro”. Today, Teatro Foro is known as Cali Teatro; an independent theater organization. In the 70s, Teatro Foro was, and still is, led by mestizo-indigenous Alvaro Arcos. In this left theater, Janeth Riascos, a mulatto woman from Guapi, was a performer. She told me that she and some others black women were very active Teatro Foro. These black women were before

dancers in a folkloric group organized and led first by Delia Zapata Olivella and, later by palenquero, Lorenzo Miranda in the IPC. These women joined the Teatro Foro after collaborating in the creation and performance of Los Puñales del 7 de Marzo. A Play that recreated the revolt led by Liberal Obando in the great Cauca Valley, with the help of Afrocolombians named "Los macheteros del Cauca". Like Los Puñales del 7 de Marzo, this theater group performed plays where black culture was central, and black problematics explicit (see below), although, under Maoist class ideology. Another member of MOIR was Luis Enrique Dinas Zape, former leaders of the Consejo Nacional de la Poblacion Negra Colombiana (see chapter 7). He was very active in the sugar cane cutter strike (see below). He remembers, "there, some cane cutters were involved, and (…) I had to talk about Marxism, I trained, and I prepared myself and I worked some black comrades in a Marxist school." (Interview, Luis Enrique Dinas Zape, Cali, 2015).

The Alianza Nacional Popular (ANAPO), a moderate conservative-liberal oriented political party, founded in the early 60s, and led by the former dictator General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, gained popular acceptance in Colombian and the Cauca Valley. In 1970s, the ANAPO saw its electoral defeat by Misael Pastrana Borero, a National Front candidate. ANAPO saw this election as an electoral fraud; which motivated the socialist section of the ANAPO to create the Guerilla movement 19th of April (M-19) (Munera, 1998; and Archila 2003). Both organizations had afrocolombian presence, either as peasants (ANAPO), in the north of Cauca, or guerrilla militants (M-19) in Cali.

In 1970, under the presidency of Carlos Lleras Restrepo, the Organizacion Nacional de Usuario Canpesinos –ANUC- was created. This social organization was a

support for the implementation of the Agrarian Reform led by INCORA; a government program conceived within the context of the "Alianza Para el Progreso", economic and political program like the Plan Marshal for European countries, financed by the United States, and the OEA, and whose aims among others, sought to redistribute the land in Colombia and to gain social and political terrain to the guerrillas' groups. Initially, ANUC was a top-down governmental organization. Later, left organizations influenced this social peasant organization to the point that there were two sections, one radical and the other moderated. The PCC, MOIR, M-19 and other leftist organizations would develop allies with ANUC during the 70s when its former members declared ANUC an independent social organization. It started, and still is, a national organization that agglutinated peasants and indigenous in Colombia. In Cauca and Valle, ANUC recruited afrocolombian farmers, sugar cane cutters, and social organizations. It was in the radical section of ANUC where afrocolombian presence was significant, according to the testimony of Alejandro Ulloa, former MOIR militant in the 70s and who currently is university professor at Universidad del Valle, Cali:

> In the ANUC, there are two tendencies, one pro-government and the other radical, which is going to have the most impact in the mobilizations and is where I believe Blacks are going to have more importance; especially here in the Valley, which is where I remember. I think in 71 or 72 that I see a march in the Cabuyal, (black town near Cali). There are two buses full of students from the Valley, from left groups; and that day those [black sugar cane cutters and] peasants left [to the march] with their pacoras (machetes). (Interview, Alejandro Ulloa, Cali, 2015).

In my fieldwork, I did not find any reference that suggests the existence of any black organizations with a left political orientation. Neither did I find afrocolombians that left any black organizations to join communist or socialist organizations. The

afrocolombians activists that I had chances to talk, they either stayed in or left socialist or communist organizations to create or join black organizations. The reason why afrocolombians left socialism or communism is because they did not find ways to develop their afrocolombian agendas. These afrocolombians were crucial to the formation of the black counterpublics. Their questions and critiques animated discussions about the negritude in Colombia. Either from the left or from black social, political and cultural organizations.

2. Class or Race

The participation of Afrocolombians in the left occurred during a political and cultural context oriented to class struggle. Politics were dominated by pro or anti-communism-Marxism agendas as I show it in chapter two. We know that left organizations were exclusively about class struggles. We also know that the left has shown no interests in organizing popular or subordinate sectors in political ideologies different from class struggles. Dawson (2001) states that in the United States, socialist organizations had little or no interest in organizing blacks as blacks. They saw them as part of a general class. The former found it only marginally important to fight racism. The latter saw it as distracting from the main fight for worker emancipations. Colombia was not the exception. Here, the left had, and some trends still have, similar responds to racial demands like their counterparts in the United States. Colombian left did not accept race as political category to mobilize. They saw it as distracting from the main fight for the worker emancipations.

In this context, there was not much space for Afrocolombians to reconcile race and class in the left. It was either to stay in the left with a class discourses or to leave and create or join a black organization: "I, initially, started militating on the left, and then I said, if the fight is not black, it cannot be part of it. Then I retire (…)." (Interview. Oscar Maturana. Cali, 2015). Like Oscar Maturana, black activists from Soweto and later Cimarron, several afrocolombians had similar experiences in the left. Some of them decided to leave, and to create or join black organizations. In next chapters, I show how the sites and forms of black politics that I study here were either created or joined by afrocolombians who left socialist or communist organizations. In contrasts, there were other that never left these organizations. Like their white counterparts, they did not give any credit to racial struggles as the testimony of Alicia Camacho states, "the great majority of blacks who were in the communist party had no black consciousness but class struggle. That is what made me resign." (Interview. Alicia Camacho. Buenaventura, 2015). Like the mulatto activist Efrain Viveros, there were many afrocolombians who reconciled class and race by putting emphasis in class struggles and leaving race aside;

> So, on the idea of Marxism and Leninism, I put an emphasis on the issue of class struggle without knowing how to figure and relate the [class] theme with the [theme of] ethnic group, and I never forgot it; I never stop taking it into consideration; but I did the exercise [of Marxism] with that deficiency that I think [now] was a big mistake. (Interview. Efrain Viveros. Bogotá, 2016).

Mmulatto Hernán Rodríguez also stayed in MOIR to contribute to the negritude movements. He went to

> Cauca in 1971, but my idea was to have my own clinic and here with Dr. Erminia Murgüeitio, we formed a small movement and got into the revolutionary worker movement of MOIR (...) My participation [in the negritude movement] was that moment and we continue fighting for blackness but from the Moir (…). (Interview. Hernán Rodríguez. El Patia. 2015).

For the consolidation of the black counterpublics in the 70s and the conflicts that the negritude discourse brought into the public (next chapters), we must pay attention to the way blackness was portrayed in left organizations, its ambiguities and contentions they brought among afrocolombians. In other words, we cannot understand black counterpublics without paying attention to the way the negritude movements intertwined or related to the left. The ideological influence of the left in shaping black counterpublics has historically been important in the African diaspora (Dawson, 2009 and Kelly, 1994). In Colombia, the influences of the left in shaping black counterpublics has also been significant. On the one hand, the left has provided radical political thoughts on class matters; a crucial source of critical perspective for afrocolombians. The experience of Dulcey Romero, left activists who later became member of CICUN and Cimarron, suggests this argument, "No, it was a total rejection of the traditional parties, because most of us who started in that Movement were, we played in the left party of the time." (Interview. Dulcey Romero. Phone call. 2015).

This quote proves that the left has been a political platform for blacks; a place for political and critical formation in Colombia as it has been in Brazil, Africa, the US, among others. In places like United States, scholars have shown how blacks have made Marxism and Marxist ideology of their own. Blacks have produced what they call "Black Marxism". They have created their own vision of socialism and communism or have

contributed the left political agenda with the recognizing of racism (Dawson, 2009; and Kelly, 1994). Out of the data I collected, afrocolombians did not go that far in making their own construction of Marxism, socialism or communism. Off course, more research is needed to make any conclusion.

3. The Left in Black Communities

In this section, I want to analyze how the left have worked with and/or in black communities. Also, we know very little about what exactly afrocolombians have done in the left. In describing the former I hope I can shed some lights on the second. I found out that the presence of afrocolombians in MOIR is significant in this matter. It gives helpful insights about how the left have worked on black communities and the role played by afrocolombian in the left. Particularly this organization allows to observe how palenque Literario or black culture, in its new urbanized and modernized forms as black folklore, was politically used and displayed by the MOIR. Specifically, its chapter in Cali is very rich and crucial to understand what afrocolombians did in the MOIR, how black culture became public, folklorized via politics, and how some of social and political problems that affected afrocolombian at the time were assumed publically as class issues.

Before I present my findings, let me contextualize the political terrain where the MOIR's political actions took place. The city of Cali is surrounded by Sugarcane Mills. According to Sanchez (2010) most of them were created between 1920 and 1950. Gamboa (2009) suggests that initially, there were 22 sugarcane mills. Today, there are 13

organized in an association named Asociación Nacional de Cultivadores de Caña-Asocaña. They are wide-spread from the Cauca State, south of Cali, to the central of Valle del Cauca, north of Cali. Most of their workers on the field have been blacks from Patia, Guapi, Timbiqui, Chocó, Puerto de Merizalde, Nariño and La Hoya, all black settlements in the Pacific region. My description and analysis of the afrocolombians in the left relates, mostly, to their involvements in the sugarcane protests and strikes that took Place in the Sugarcane mill named "Rio Paila", Valle del Cauca, created in 1944. In 1975, 3,300 labor union members went on strike that lasted 177 days (Sanchez, 2010): "A great sector of the workers was black, from the Nariño-Pacific and Cauca, fundamentally. They worked in cutting and picking up [of the cane], (…)." (Sanchez, 2010, 231). These black labors were named pejoratively as "Iguazos". In the Factory, occupying administrative and machine operator positions were whites and mestizos (Interview. Fabio Olaya, Tulúa. 2015).

This strike and others sugarcane strikes has been well documented within the class struggle perspective (Sanchez, 2010; Gamboa, 2009; Múnera, 1998; Nina, 1974; and Mateo Mina, 2011). When studying sugarcane protests, there is a predominant use of the structural and meso-level analyses in the studies (Sanchez, 2010; Gamboa, 2009; Múnera, 1998; Nina, 1974; and Mateo Mina, 2011). It has led scholars to overlook the role of afrocolombians in everyday interactions and to emphasize the presence of black culture, understood as black folklore. In any case, Afrocolombians are perceived as non-relevant factors. For example, in his recent book, "La Huega" (2010), Sanchez remarks two aspects. First, that "Unfortunately, the few black leaders were almost all patronage-

like, for example, one with the last name Asprilla and other with Giron." (Sanchez, 2010:231). Second, "This strike is not explainable without the great movement of the sugar workers in 1959, and the threads of continuity between their memory and oblivion of the libertarian deed of the Afro-descendants." (Sanchez, 2010:233).

It seems that for Sanchez the contribution of the afrocolombians in the 1975 strike in Rio Paila was their bodies, culture and memories. He emphasizes on black culture: "There is no linear continuity between [previous and recent black sugar cane cutter] struggles, nor a permanent accumulation. But, if there is a tradition of struggles, memories that constitute the historical praxis of the working class. The struggle against slavery in colonial and republican society had a depth and radicalism of great dimension and remained in a saga of memories and obliviousness, recoveries and inheritances in radical popular culture. (Sanchez, 2010:233). I think that, in term of black culture, the above quote recognizes the significant role played by black culture in black struggle in Colombia, which I have been describing as palenque literario. However, Sanchez's analysis fall into racial stereotypes when he over-emphasizes on black culture at expenses of black leadership or agency different from those coopted by patronal oriented labor unions. Thus, this culturalist interpretation denies the capacity of black community to develop political and social mobilizations.

Here, I seek to complicate these interpretations by describing social interactions between afrocolombians in left and their black counterparts in black communities. I argue that the quotidian interactions between some left blacks and their black sugarcane cutters,

that took place during the participation of MOIR and its black militants in several sugarcane fields during the 70s, offer a different perspective where afrocolombians were crucial in the development of the Rio Paila strike. For example, Sanchez overlooks the role played by black leadership in organizing the camp, named "Chinazo", circulating information among afrocolombians in and outside of the camp, etc. Fabio Olaya, mestizo labor union leader, who was also interviewed by Sanchez (2010), remembers how the afrocolombian leaderships were around collective dynamics of the Chinazo camp, "that strike lasted 6 months; one of the longest strikes here in Colombia and blacks really never gave up, they were never traitors to that cause; they stayed firmly passing all the difficulties of the world (…)." (Interview. Fabio Olaya, Tulua. 2015). By using an everyday interaction perspective, I could analyze not only the presence and participation of afrocolombians in the left but also the interactions between left blacks and black community members. By highlighting these interactions between them, we can recognize the significant role of blacks in the left.

I identify two political action fronts in MOIR. One is the Cultural Front and the other the Political Front. The first includes a. Political formation and organization, and, b. Scenic Arts and music. The second consists of the electoral participations in the Political system. Afrocolombians participated and had active roles in both Fronts. They were militants, subject of interventions, political candidates or actors in plays. In the cultural Front, afrocolombians participated in the Teatro Foro, which functioned as political formation and as scenic arts. It was a place of political formation where militants read, debated and wrote about Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, among other things, and

performed plays. Among those afrocolombians who participated in the Theater were Afro-caleño (from Cali) Ramiro Catacoli; guapireña (from Guapi) Janeth Riascos and buenaverence (from Buenaventura) Jaime Perea. There were other important black women in the theater, yet I could not get their names. Ramiro Catacoli was a young leader of a chapter of the JUPA (Juventud Patriótica) in the University of Valle before becoming a militant of MOIR. His brother was a syndicalist leader who persuaded Ramiro Catacoli to become Moirist.

Janeth Riascos, a student, dancer and professor of folkloric dance in the IPC, remembers how German Patiño, leader of the Moir chapter in Cali, introduced a group of black women to MOIR, including her, "Yes, of course, that is how I met him. (...), Germán was (...) the one who took black women from IPC and put them to study politics, another policy that we had no idea that existed, the left." (Interview. Janeth Riascos, Cali. 2015). Also at the time, Janeth Riascos participated in the cultural activities organized by Colonia Guapireña in Cali, and recently, she has been judge for many times of the Petronio Alvarez festival, a Black Music Festival that honored black musician from Buenaventura, Petronio Alvarez, and whose cultural activities have been taken place since the 90s in Cali. Black activist Jaime Perea was also a performer in Teatro Foro before becoming a M-19 militant. As to his participation in Teatro Foro, he remembers, "that [black] collectivity was growing, they had a relatively strong presence in the Teatro Foro, not all were MOIR militants, but they had a more or less strong presence there (…)." (Interview. Jaime Perea. Cali. 2015).

Teatro Foro performed critical and political plays. As Jaime Perea recounts, some of the Teatro Foro's plays portrayed social problematics that had a critical impact on black communities in Chocó, Cauca and Valle del Cauca, "they were plays that in their great majority were thought based on themes related to sugar cane cutters; in the exploitation of sugar cane and of how the agricultural proletariat was enslaved. The actors were afrocolombians, the characters were afro…! right! (Interview. Jaime Perea. Cali. 2015). Specifically, a play named "La Devoradora" (literately, The Devourer). This was a play that showed "the problem of the gold exploitation in the Chocó, (...); every time that [black] people pull out the gold and they were not paid and their monies were not enough to buy food and, among other things, it was a romantic thing. It was as a central theme, (...)." (Interview. Ramiro Catacoli. Cali. 2015).

There were several plays that worked on social problematics that impacted black communities. For example, "Los Puñales del Siete de Marzo", (The March 7th Daggers) was "about the war that took place in Cauca, of the blacks and everything,"; "La Cancion del Bongó" (the Bongo Song) was a play of which "we collect poems [written] by Nicolás Guillén and we put together the work. A very beautiful work…, very beautiful! It had music, dance, theater... it was one of the first work like that,"; "Los Cantos del Cañon" (the Canon Songs), "about cane cutters in the sugar mills in general." (Interview. Janeth Riascos, Cali. 2015); "Caña Amarga" (Bitter Cane), "a play that tried to recreate the conditions of the proletariat of the Cauca Valley, and of course that proletariat that were cane cutters, had black people." (Interview. Carlos Castillo. Cali. 2015).

Plays like “La Huelga”, (The strike) “El Cortero Obando” (the Obando sugar cane cutter) and “Los Cañeros” (The cutters) portrayed all the social problematics and labor exploitations suffered by sugar cane cutters, which the majority happened to be blacks, in Sugarcane Mills. For example, director of Teatro Foro expresses about “La huelga”, “(...) we did it especially in the problematic of the sugar cane cutters of the sugar mills of Rio Paila, right! So, it had to do with one of the problems, the low salary for cutting the cane and the subhuman situation in which these sectors live because I believe they have not changed, right! and “El Cortero Obando” is about a marriage, he is already sick evicted and then to fulfill the tasks of the Party sends the woman to sell (the newspaper) La Tribuna Roja.” (Interview. Alvaro Arcos. Cali. 2015). In fact, Alvaro Arcos shared the play-manuscripts with me. I read them and I could observe that the manuscripts talk about health problems, low salaries for long hour shifts, house displacements, forms of organization in labor unions, strikes, political agendas of the labor union and of the owners of Sugarcane Mills, etc.

The Cultural Front of MOIR had also a musical band named “El Son del Pueblo” (The song of the people). The two most representative members of this band were the actor and leading musician Cesar Mora and the mulatto actor and politician Bruno Diaz. This was a band that played protest songs like that of Mercedes Sosa and Silvio Rodriguez. Instead of political romantic-oriented songs, they played and sang Cuban son. By 1975, the band created an album to homage sugarcane strikers in the Sucarcane Mill, Rio Paila. The album’s name was “Los Cantos del Cañal” (The Sugarcane Songs) which refers to the struggles of the sugarcane cutters in the Sugarcane Mills. The above plays

and the songs not only portrayed or referred to the problematics that impacted sugarcane cutters. They also reproduced what today we understand as black ethnic culture. Black activist Ramiro Catacoli is still critical about claiming any black identity. He is one of those who think the struggles are about class. Race is a distraction. However, in our conversation he recognized the following, "Now, the cultural thing was always there, (...) right…! the afro culture was always in all these artistic processes. Let's say the songs. Let's say the experiences of the people, (...)." (Interview. Ramiro Catacoli, Cali. 2015).

When I interviewed Jorge Gambo, mestizo Moir activist, I asked ¿this music of the "Los Cantos del Cañal, that they created, what influences it has, do you remember? Then, he answered, "Antillana and Colombian music, there were things from currulao; there were things from cumbia and the rest were Son and guarachas music, (...)." (Interview. Jorge Gamboa. Palmira. 2015). In the intro of the DC "Los Cantos del Cañal", it says, "(…) El Son del Pueblo has been touring the country for two and a half years, date in which we link the song protest with the joy and strength of Antillean music. The second part we have titled the songs of the sugar cane. These songs are based on the Rio Paila strike at the beginning of the current year. (...) in this part, which links Antillean rhythms with the joy and strength of the music of our coasts: the cumbia, the currulao, the porro, the bagpipe and the mapale, will sound in that second part of our concert…!" (CD, Cantos del Cañal, 1975).

The above plays and songs permit to observe how black culture was perceived in MOIR. It was part of the popular culture or Pueblo. The specificity of the black culture

was overlooked. MOIR, like other leftist group at the time, was about class struggles, Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. Also, they created and performed other plays where they talked about imperialism, peasants' struggles, etc. "(…) there, it is understood that the use of culture was the use of culture to spread the ideas of the party, and the ideas of the party refer to the class struggle, (…)." (Interview. Carlos Castillo. Cali. 2015). With this framework, Moir approached the sugarcane cutter and workers as popular sectors, "Proletariado azucarero" (Sugar Proletariat) peasants and workers. Everything was about class struggles.

Former afrocolombian militants (Luis Enrique Dinas Zape, Omar Diaz, Hernan Rodriquez, Jaime Perea, Janeth Riascos, Ramiro and Hermer Patacoli, and Florencio) and the mestizo academics (Oscar Rivera, Jorge Gamboa, Fernando Ulloa and Carlos Castillo), that I had the chance to talk about this, confirmed it. However, there are elements that we need to consider in the case of MOIR. Although the political agenda of Moir did not allow the emergence of a black political identity to mobilize black communities in the sense that black social movements have done in the US, Brazil and Sought Africa, the interactions between black actors embodying and performing black culture and black problematics and the audience, facilitated processes of differentiation or identification through skin color and black culture between black members of Moir and its audiences in black communities. In this sense, we cannot overlook the symbolic significant that may be produced by the social and political interactions in the field between black militants and black communities. Let me provide some examples that support this argument.

Around the time, MOIR developed “La Politica de los Pies Desclazos”, (the Bare feet policy). This “consisted of cadres and student leaders or people from universities and colleges, abandoned their careers or their schools to go to Pueblos like preachers to do political work.” (Interview. Jorge Gamboa, Palmira. 2015). In Teatro Foro, the Bare feet policy was “Theater on the Streets”, or “Teatro Panfletario” (Pamphletish Theater), so, “We arrive at any park and we armed and throw theater, right! Well, to do things, very interesting; so, we go to every village here in the Valley (around Cali), (…), many times we reached to the Atlantic coast as well.” (Interview. Ramiro Catacoli, Cali. 2015). For Janeth Riascos, the Bare feet policy also implied to do fieldwork to put on a play: “(…) the party was clear about it, that to do a play we must go to investigate; go to the root of everything. We were going to do a play called “Las Danzas del Cañar”, and we went to cut cane [in the field].” (Interview. Janeth Riascos. Cali. 2015). Plays such as “La devoradora”, “La Cancion del Bongó” “La Huelga”, “El Cortero Obando”, “Los Cañeros”, among others, were the result of and/or motivated the implementation of the Bare feet policy.

In the context of the Bare feet policy, Jaime Perea recounts his encounter with black sugarcane cutters and how this interaction allowed black identification flourished. As Moir militant, he and another afrocolombian from Buenaventura, Orlando Sánchez, went on a fieldwork trip to a sugarcane area in Florida, Valle del Cauca; area predominantly black. In their encounters with the black sugarcane cutters, they experienced an explicit racial identification on the following term:

> But I want to signify something, we went [to the field] with us was a boy from Florida. He was the MOIR contact there, so that we could go to the sugar cane field. (…) since we did not know anything, we went like this, with nothing. So, they gave us the machete and everything. Then, around 10 in the morning, we were at hell, and then some workers called us to talk. They tell us: come, let's share this breakfast but with you, not with that white man. And they gave us two breakfasts, but not to the white man. (Interview. Jaime Perea. Cali. 2015).

The last two lines are significant. Jaime Perea narrated his encounter with black sugarcane cutters. It is an encounter where blacks, in two different positions, expressed their sympathy to each other, since the black sugarcane cutters offered breakfast just to the two blacks and left aside the white-mestizo man. On the one hand, it is a clear and explicit example of the racial solidarity through skin color identification between black men in different positions, but also, who shared similar political stands against the owners of the sugarcane Mills. On the other hand, despite the fact the white man shared the political stands against the owners of the sugarcane Mills, he was not invited to the breakfast. Somehow, their color of their skin determined the type of racial interactions and the expression of racial solidarity.

Now, it seems to me that social interactions and racial identifications like the above were not unusual between blacks in the left and their black counterparts in the black community. For example, Teatro Foro performed sketches clandestinely in Sugarcane Mill of Rio Paila when sugarcane cutters went on the strike that lasted six months: "We went and stayed there a few days. We slept in the camp with the strikers. We ate the food they prepared in the Chinazo; in a community classroom, and there, we spent two or three nights doing the representations [that] alluding to the union movement

that they were realizing at that moment.". (Alvaro Arcos, 2015). Keep in mind that what they presented in their plays were about problematics that affected black sugarcane cutters, performed by black actors, men and women, and with black cultural features. I think that somehow these elements encouraged some type of black solidarity between those black lefts in Moir and these from the black community.

I observe similar pattern of black solidarity and identification in other narratives. The first one came from an article published by anthropologist Nina de Friedemann in 1974, "Negros: Monopolios de Tierra, Agricultores y desarrollo de Plantaciones de Caña de Azucar en el Vallde del Rio Cauca". In this article, she quotes a line that let us see the racial consciousness of the black communities. The line states, "because this is a black town, the government is not interested in us" to describe how a black peasant leader perceived the white society dominance were taking their lands from them in the Cauca State (1974:158). The second came from a conversation I had with the union leader, Fabio Olaya. He is not an afrocolombian. He was a young worker at the time of the Rio Paila strike. In our conversation, he commented that the relationship between left organizations groups and the black sugarcane cutters were conflictive. Black strikers were reluctant to work with the left groups that arrived at the sugarcane field to support the strike,

> "an observation is that they did not militate in left organizations. They were more a movement, they are more a group, ok! They did not pay much attention to the left...! I am not going to participate in the ELN, I am not going to participate in the M19 or in the Liberal Party or in the Conservative Party! Of course, there were blacks who participated but a minority. It was not like massive; they are more a movement (...)." (Interview. Fabio Olaya, Tulua. 2015).

In the sugar cane strikes were presence the CCP, MOIR, Socialist Block and ELN. As Fabio Olaya states in Shanchez's study (2010), it was paternalism, on the part of the left leadership (Shanchez, 2010), and their vanguard attitude what caused such as reluctance against them. In addition, we cannot disregard that these left organizations were led by whites. They represent a white version of Marxism that maybe did not represent the interests of the black communities as it has happened in the United States (Dawson, 2009; and Kelly, 1994). At this respect, Fabio Olaya states that who facilitated and mediated this relationship was a Marxist Camilista; mulatto and cartagenero Nicolás Estrada, "So, Nicolás makes a very close relationship with us and starts doing a very strong activity in Tuluá, Andalucía, in Buga La Grande and had a lot of acceptance before the [black] people, it was [mulatto] of the Atlantic coast." (Interview. Fabio Olaya, Tulua. 2015). He considers, "If it had not been for the embodied speech; the incarnate verb of [Nicolás Estrada] it would not have been able to advance here because of the party's class nature and ethnicity." (Interview. Fabio Olaya, Tulúa. 2015).

Nicolas Estrada and I talked about his perception of the role played by afrocolombian in the Rio Paila strike. In his opinion, there are several factors that explain the reluctance of the black strikers against the left. First, most of the left were whites and mestizos. Second, they did not expend time with the black strikers. They came on weekend and gave speeches but did not shared actual time in everyday interactions,

> because on the left most were white then that suspicion has always persisted and will always exist (...) I lived (...) there, I did not leave, I went on strike and did not

> leave until it was over. I lived there with them. So, that also says that the man comes and [stays]. The others come on the weekends, give their speeches and they go away. So, there was nothing to make black movements assume a different position and the left were more focused on their own claims. (Interview. Nicolas Estrada. Bogotá. 2015).

And third, the left never listened or worried about what afrocolombian strikers wanted besides labor rights:

> "They were too much bureaucratic, which is one of the failures and maybe that is why those left organizations did not give that level of participation to blacks. What are you fighting for? Well, in addition to the labor related demands. (…) There was no such process, that was a certain divorce, so to speak. Naturally, it is not like blacks rejected or something like it. They listened to it but they did not give so much attention to it, (…)." (Interview. Nicolas Estrada. Bogotá. 2015).

The data that I am presenting here suggest that the black sugarcane cutters had, to some extent, a level of racial consciousness and a form of black identity. It became public in social interactions with some blacks (racial solidarity and identification) and whites (racial tensions). These black identification and reluctance to work with white left demonstrate another thing. The impossibility of the activists in the left to see, channel and cultivate the racial inconformity or sentiment that black sugarcane cutters and peasants expressed in public manifestations like the above. Even though some left blacks could mediate and facilitate the interactions between the left and black communities, their Marxist frameworks did not permit a much more comprehensive approach that recognize racism in Colombia. Moreover, the left has not been able to articulate afrocolombian political agenda into their own:

> It is a problem that it is not about excluding it; but, a problem of not believing much the story as we tell it. Blacks did not believe much because they were not reflected there, they brought their traditions, their cultures and their way of seeing

> the world and wanted their own organizational forms, which the mestizos never understood. We talked, then, about Trotsky but we did not speak of Zapata Olivella. We did not speak of the representative people of the blacks, but we did not see the black as something separate but it was part of the class struggle, we did not notice that it was racism. (Interview. Fabio Olaya, Tulúa. 2015)

On the other hand, the lack of openness has caused some afrocolombians to reject the left or leave it to create their own or participate in black social and political organizations as Luis Enrique Dinas Zapes recounts, "In the year 74, the strike of Rio Paila comes. Then, I am in the Bare feet policy to defend the black workers who were being prisoners in Zarzal and Cartago. I was a criminal lawyer. There, I saw that the white workers and Indians were racist and that was when I decided to break with the Moir and come here to defend the blacks." (Interview. Luis Enrique Dinas Zapes. Cali. 2015). Thus, like African America in the United States, black Marxist stepped out of socialist and communist organizations to open their own public spaces where matter of race is central; where race is not subordinated by class.

4. Folklorizing Black Culture

By the 70s, any folkloric expressions (music, instruments, dance, and oral traditions) were perceived as a traditional exotic thing; as entertainment or show. Folklore was exotic to the extent that it was not an expression of the "high culture". It was not the product of the aristocracy, elite and modern artists. In my opinion, the trajectory of folklorization in Colombia occurred between 50 and 70 when folkloric or popular expressions become an entertainment and business. In this context, folklore is over- erotized, sexualized and spectacularized to be sold to costumers. Then, popular and

folkloric expressions are offered in theaters, concerts and so as entertainment. In this context, the meaning attributed by the black politic of folklore got diffused and new meanings entered the public to dispute and create terrains of contestations. The political strategies of Moir are crucial to understand the process of folklorization from a different process; when cultural expressions became the folklore of the politics and the black politic of folklore lost ground on its rebellious symbolic power.

The Moir´s cultural Front was also used for political electoral purpose. Teatro Foro deployed what its director Alvaro Arcos called "Teatro Estilo Combate" (Combat Theater). They performed short plays called Sketch in working class and popular sectors. During mid 70s, when the Sugarcane cutter strikes took place in the Valle del Cauca, Teatro Foro went on several tours around this state to present sketches of the above sugarcane cutters related plays as Carlos Castillo states, this represent what "Teatro Planfetario" is all about (Interview. Carlos Castillo. Cali. 2015). However, Moir also used the cultural front for electoral campaign purposes. In 1972, Moir participated in Politic. In 1974, mestizo Jorge Gamboa was elected regional deputy in Cali, in coalition with the CCP. In 1975, he was elected Concejal de Cali. For these political campaigns, "we started [from] a work we had never done in neighborhoods, the creation of commandos, and to move political theses, we relied heavily on theater groups. We had achieved an influence in the INEM [school], through theater groups such as those who directed Álvaro Arcos, [and] Jorge Vanegas (…)." (Interview. Jorge Gamboa. Cali. 2015).

Folklore then became a political instrument; better say, a decoration of their

political campaigns. For example, before Moir's candidate gives his speech, folkloric groups or the Teatro Foro performed their dances or plays: "Yaneth [Riasco] arrived with an IPC group of folkloric dances and they were part of some plays, and this theater group at the same time functioned for the political work in the neighborhoods, then before I gave a speech, for example in the campaign, we presented a play about concrete problems." (Interview. Jorge Gamboa. Cali. 2015). For Yaneth Riasco, what they did was not just art, what they did was cultural and political arts: "We did not make art by art, we understood that art for art's sake not exist. We, for example, know how we did politics, it was a cultural political act. First, we did the sketch and then the candidate of us ... we never won, but hey…!" (Interview. Yaneth Riasco. Cali. 2015).

Yaneth Riasco's interpretation attributes political and revolutionary meanings to their performances. She thought folkloric expressions were political because its apparently revolutionary purposes and collaborations with political candidates. However, she did not realize that Moir was not the only political party that used folkloric expressions in their political campaigns. I observed that by 1970s several political parties did the same. The liberal, conservative and some other left groups used folkloric expressions with similar purposes. It was not only black cultural and folkloric expressions. They used several other folkloric expressions of other popular and ethnic groups. Second, folklore, in this case black folklore, became more and more de-politicized since political parties with different political agendas used it as decorations in their campaigns. Plus, the massive emergence of folkloric groups performing in Festival, Festivities and parties. This explains, in part, why some afrocolombians, black left and

white left, and scholars have minimized the importance of the black politic of folklore today. Black folklore, and folklore in general, have become such as cliché that it is difficult to attach specific political meaning or value to it. In other words, black cultural has been folklorized by depoliticizing, eroticizing and exoticizing it.

To sum up, the data suggests that the role of blacks in the left has been significant. Some of them have been mediators between the left and black communities. My data suggests that their skin color permit black identification and solidarity to be expressed in public interactions. These findings reflect what some afrocolombians did in Moir. Those associated with culture and scenic arts. However, we do not know much about what other blacks, that were not related to the Cultural Front, did in Moir nor afrocolombians did in other left organizations such as CCP, Bloque Camilista, EPL, ELN, FARC EP, M-19, etc. What we do know is that the negritude movement in Colombia, and the black counterpublics it opened, is well influenced by black militants that either criticized the negritude movements from in/outside of the left or by those who left the left to contribute actively in its formation. This account of the left then is crucial to understand the critiques some left blacks raised when the negritude movements became public (see below).

CHAPTER 6
THE MESTIZO NEGRITUDE

Out of the afrocolombians that participated in “El Dia del Negro” public events, Marino Viveros and Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella, were still active during the 70s. However, it was Manuel Zapata Olivella who gained great visibility at the national level. In fact, I would argue that Manuel Zapata Olivella was a key figure in consolidating sites and forms of black counterpublics and circulating the negritude discourses allover Colombia during this time, as I will show below. Thus, I center my attention to the web of relation and collaborations that Manuel Zapata Olivella and his younger sister, Delia Zapata Olivella, articulated to make blackness public in Colombia. By analyzing this project of the mestizo negritude, I want to demonstrate the political contradictions in which the siblings Zapata Olivella incurred. First, their idea of mestizaje was problematic. It uses the main concept used to deny racism in Colombia, mestizaje. Although, the meaning was different from the dominant definition of mestizaje, from the top, the siblings Zapata Olivella were severely attacked by blacks situated in other projects of the negritude.

Second, the project of making blackness public from the field of folklore got exhausted. Black politics of folklore faced its folklorization either by its de-politization (see chapter 5) or its erotization-exotization in spectacles and shows. Then, siblings Zapata Olivella were not only criticized for their ambiguous idea of mestizo negritude but also their folklorized version of black culture. Their critics would propose to use the concept of black culture to overcome this limitation (see chapter 8). Besides these contradictions, siblings Zapata Olivella, even more so Manuel Zapata Olivella, would influence somehow major sites and forms of black politics during the 70s. He would be

recognized by mostly every sites and forms of politics as one of the pioneer of the black social and political struggles in Colombia.

Three aspects I would like to highlight from this project of the mestizo negritude. They develop each of arguments exposed above. First, I examine the definition of the mestizo negritude in contrast to the idea of mestizaje that came from the Colombian State. Second, I want to analyze its emergence, formation and structure as a web of relation and collaborations between black intellectuals, folklorists, politicians and artists. And third, I analyze how this idea of mestizo negritude found ways to the publics.

1. The Radical Mestizaje

The siblings Zapata Olivella, Delia, Manuel and Juan, produced an extensive literature, between articles, books, studies, plays, newspaper columns, TV and radio programs, congresses and conferences; poems and novels exclusively on or related to mestizaje. Clearly, these intellectual productions are too much to analyze just on one chapter or even in one dissertation. Each of them deserve individual analysis. There are some differences from one to another (J. A. Caicedo, 2013). On the other hand, there are substantial articles and researches on this topic of mestizaje[30]. By drawing on these

[30] Just to reference some of them, see Arboleda, (2010 and 2016); Caicedo (2013); Valderrama (2013, 2014 and 2016); and Zapata-Cortés (2010). For those of you who want to trace the idea of mestizaje, I recommend Manuel Zapata Olivella, "Por los Senderos de sus Ancestros" where there is a substantive compilation the articles written by Manuel Zapata Olivella since the 40 until the 1998. Also, consider the references quoted by Valderrama (2013, 2014 and 2016); Zapata-Cortés (2010); Arboleda, (2010 and 2016); and Caicedo, (2013).

studies and my interview data, I want to present the components of the mestizo negritude project by focusing on their bibliographical productions that address directly mestizaje and negritude. That is, what I am going to present here comes from those articles and bibliographical references that deal with and connect both terms, mestizaje and negritude and were published during the 70s. This methodological decision led me to consider mostly the works of Manuel Zapata Olivella who, among the siblings, was the one whose works I found this combination.

Scholars agree upon the radicalness of the idea of mestizaje in Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella's intellectuality. While the dominant idea of mestizaje sought to whiten the national identity by eliminating the presence of afrocolombians via racial mixture; to make black culture invisible through denying its presence in the national identity; and to negate the existence of racism through the Black Legend, situating racism in the United States, Africa and Germany, and by promoting the ideology of racial harmony and racial democracy (see chapter 2), Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella's conception of mestizaje proposed totally the opposite. Let me reproduce a dialogue I had with black intellectual Afredo Vanin that summarizes what scholars have recognized in the siblings' conception of mestizaje:

> (…) his proposal is very clear. Zapata Olivella says that the only way to understand America is to understand ourselves as mestizos. See from the black contributions, from the indigenous contributions, from the Hispanic contributions. (…), we are a product of this mestizaje. (...) Zapata is the ideologue, who has the philosophical structure on which this mestizaje can be settled. It is not just about saying, we are mestizos and forgetting about all the marginalization and racialization of the [social] relations in the Colombian society, it is about understanding us in our mestizaje, yet being black the strongest stem in the sense

> that blacks have had [ancestral] features for centuries [and] given the coloniality. So, to break that coloniality, we have to understand ourselves as part of a whole, in-between the correlation of forces in which discrimination is cemented, and in which the sincere and critical positions between different ethnic groups is settled. (Interview. Alfredo Vanin. Bogota. 2015).

Their idea of negritude is situated in this conception of mestizaje. Among the "the correlation of forces in which [racial] discrimination is cemented." (Interview. Alfredo Vanin. Bogota. 2015). Now, the negritude discourse brought up a new discursive framework to discuss the meaning, the cultural practices and values of the black communities. Before, the siblings Zapata Olivella approached mestizaje was within the intellectual framework of folklore and negrism (Valderrama, 2014); during the days of the National Front and with the intensification of the class struggles and discourses, the siblings Zapata Olivella defined mestizaje within the framework of popular culture. In the 70s, the siblings Zapata Olivella approached mestizaje through negritude. In these intellectual frameworks, the siblings blackened the idea of mestizaje. It was always approached by recognizing the conditioned and racialized presence of indigenous, Europeans and black communities.

We can observe in the above quote that siblings' conception of mestizaje recognized all the things the dominant conception of mestizaje pretend to hide. For the siblings' Zapata Olivella, mestizaje signifies the result of power relations expressed in the slavery system, coloniality and racial discriminations against black and indigenous communities, "every discriminatory situation and racial prejudice of the current Colombian society are based on this historical injustice; well…! until now nothing has been done to give back to the descendants of slaves any property rights over the national

patrimony that they contributed to forge in decisive form, for more than four and a half centuries." (Manuel Zapata, Semanario Cultural, 1977). Mestizaje then is unequal process of cultural exchange where white could impose their worldview, "in the individual sphere, these prejudices are manifested in a double Manichaeism; black is accepted as non-epidermal phenomenon that does not contaminate someone's own color and European blood, or it is assumed the most hypocritical position of paternalism with the defense and exaltation of art contributed by the poor and miserable black." (Manuel Zapata, 1978); and preserve white and mestizo privilege, "The mestizo, of course, because of his European blood is excluded from being catechized [in catholic church] and [they] becomes the natural agent [of catechizing other non-whites]." (Manuel Zapata, 1978).

The siblings' idea of mestizaje displaced racial and cultural influence from unidirectional understanding of mestizaje (where blacks and indigenous are blanqueados) and situate mestizaje in a multi directional view: everybody (whites, mestizos, blacks and indigenous) in Colombia have experienced mestizaje, either culturally or physically (skin color). Nobody escapes it like it or not. That is why this subordinated conception of mestizaje is radical (Arboleda, 2010). Its philosophical and intellectual foundations, instead of whitening, blacken the national identity (Valderrama, 2013 and 2014) by recognizing those "dark elements" and cultures that constitute the nations; black and indigenous communities. On the other hand, their idea of mestizaje is a constant reminder to Colombians that the legacy of colonialism, slavery and racial discrimination are still shaping social relation in the country.

Mestizaje is also cultural resistance. The siblings' Zapata Olivella recognize the African and indigenous ancestries when they describe the existence of Palenques and marronage and the struggles of the indigenous against the Colony. Thus, they propose that as black and indigenous have been influenced by the European culture so has been white and mestizos by the indigenous and black culture, "While there is an acquiescence in admitting the influence of Greece and its roots in our civilization; of French rationalization in contemporary thought; of German philosophy in the domain of pure abstraction; of Russian praxis in the world Marxist revolution; the emotional and religious impact of Africa on contemporary civilization is ignored." (Manuel Zapata, 1978). This quote shows a senghorian construction of the negritude in the political intellectuality of Manuel Zapata Olivella; in the sense that he situates rationality in European culture, and religiosity and emotion in Africa.

There are other articles in which Manuel Zapata Olivella insinuates similar accounts, "El sustrato psico-afectivo y recreador del negro en el castellano hispanoamericano" and "Aportes Materiales y psicoafectivos del negro en el folklore colombiano." (Manuel Zapata Olivella, 2010). Then, these elements, plus their works' emphasis on black culture and history, the African legacies (African Montú) in the American culture, and their idea of mestizaje that recognizes mutual influences between indigenous, Europeans and Africans, make me think of them as leaning towards Senghorian definition of negritude. However, this does not mean that the siblings Zapata Olivella were completely Senghorian. Because, there are other articles and books in

which Manuel Zapata Olivella conveyed discussions of class struggles, critiques towards capitalism and class and racial exploitation in the Capitalist system, for example, his novel "Tierra Mojada" (see Arboleda, 2016) and "Las claves mágicas de America", and mental colonization and des-personification of afrocolombians, "blacks have been subjected into proletarian condition, exposed to all the spoliations of the feudal and semi-capitalist system. In the present, with the rise of neocolonialism, their situation is aggravated, because the creoles (white-mestizo) discriminators are joined by foreign companies, which directly or through multinational companies, use the prevailing practices of humiliation to increase their profits at the expense of discriminated labor." (Manuel Zapata, 1978). Here, the siblings Zapata Olivella seems closer to fanonian and Cesairean approaches to negritude. What is clear is that the siblings Zapata Olivella made a turn during the 70s towards the term black culture. Thus, black culture was understood as the result of "the correlation of forces in which [racial] discrimination is cemented." (Interview. Alfredo Vanin. Bogota. 2015).

2. The Web of Relation and Collaboration

Manuel Zapata had already founded the journal "Letras Nacionales" in 1965; journal that edited 43 editions until 1986 (see Diaz, 2003). In 1966, being Manuel Zapata Olivella director of Extension Cultural, dependency of the Ministry of National Education, he organized the first Congress of Colombian Culture that took place simultaneously in several cities in Colombia (Diaz, 2003). Between 1968 and 1971, Manuel Zapata gave lectures in universities in Toronto, in Canada; Howard in Kansas y

Lawrence, in the USA. In 1973, Manuel founded "Fundacion Colombiana de Investigaciones Folcloricas" (Colombian Foundation for Folkloric Research); a non-profit institution that sought to "encourage folklore research and disseminate its results in such a way as to contribute to the cultural development of the Colombian nation, affirming its own values, traditions and customs. In virtue of which, the Foundation may organize folkloric groups; museums; study centers; editions of books, magazines, booklets and ethnographic, literary, historical and cultural essays; make films about different aspects of Colombian culture; exchange scientific or cultural materials with other university or similar"[31]; a year later, in 1974, he re-opened "El Centro de estudios Afrocolombiano".

In 1974, Manuel Zapata Olivella attended the "Negritude and Latin America" Colloquium, convened and held by Leopold Senghor in Dakar, Senegal. By returning, he felt the urgent to re-articulate efforts between those afrocolombians that survive "El dia del Negro" event to mobilize black culture in Colombia; "Encouraged by the growing negritude [movements], the Colombian Folklore Research Foundation convened those surviving leaders of the 1940s when we founded the center for Afro-Colombian studies, to resuscitate its declaration of principles, apparently moldy." (Zapata, 1990:334). Among those who survived, Manuel Zapata re-articulated the web of relation and collaboration with new and old white and afrocolombians activists and allies. Let me highlight those I consider were close to him or at least participated in several events he organized.

[31] Identidad Colombiana. Fundacion Colombiana de Investigacion Folcloricas. Identidad Colombiana. 1998. P. 2.

Marino Viveros, who founded a social organization named “Asociación de Negritudes” in Cali, (ASONEGRIS), would participate in the conferences and congress organized by Manuel Zapata Olivella. I could not find much information of ASONEGRIS. However, historian Prieto Pisano (2012) recognizes its existence and some testimonies (including his daughter, the afrocolombian scholar, Mara Miveros) suggested that ASONEGRIS functioned since around the 70s; Fundacion Palenque (Palenque Foundation) and “La Fundacion Instituto Folklorico Colombiano”, created and led by Delia Zapata Olivella in Bogotá; the Museo del Negro (Museum of Black culture) founded by Juan Zapata Olivella in Cartagena; left white and intellectuals (e.g. Enrique Buenaventura, Nina S Friedemann, Grabriel Garcial Masques, among many others.), folkloric scholars (e.g. Octavio Marulanda) and afrocolombian cultural and political activists (e,g, Alonso Hetor Elias Sandoval, Teofilo Potes, Manuel Zapata’ daughter Edelma Zapata Perez and wife Rosa Bosh de Zapata; Carlos Calderón Mosquera, Rafael Scalona, Esteban Cabezas, Nereo Lopez, Madolia de Diego, Maria Tesera de Varela, Marino Viveros, Helcias Martha Gongora, Jorge Artel, Juan Zapata Olivella, Arnoldo Palacios, etc.).

Manuel Zapata Olivella’s testimony portrays a very complicated context for the mobilization of their cultural anti-racist agenda. The consciousness of the black communities was asleep. Black politicians were exploiting their racial identification –skin color- for electorate interests; black, and mulatto professionals ignored the existence of black literature –novelists and poets- that denounced racial inequalities in Colombia;

black students in universities refused to affirm their blackness. He states,

> We discovered with bitterness that the conscience of the brothers remained asleep. Some black politicians in the parliament forgot the electoral proclamations in which they remark their skin color as a decoy to win votes from the powerless classes. The few black professionals, mulattos and Zambos graduates from universities, did not read or pretend not to listen to the voices of the poets and novelists who denounced the injustices and discriminations of the Afro descendants in our society. In the university, the few black students from both coasts avoided assuming the assertion of their ethnicity, claiming to belong to the universal family of men, even if they knew that their parents and brothers had to make painful sacrifices by fishing the elusive grains of gold in the sinkhole of the mines or prisoners of tuberculosis in the unhealthy neighborhoods of Buenaventura, Tumaco or Chambacú. (Zapata, 1990:334).

From this point on, Manuel Zapata Olivella would dedicate himself to mobilize negritude discourse by promoting blackness, as result of mestizaje, and denouncing racial discrimination in Colombia. His Strategy was to participate in tertulias, conferences and meetings with black professional, students and intellectuals. In my opinion, Manuel Zapata Olivella was a crucial node around which black counterpublics pivoted during this period. He, and his web of relation and collaboration, was one of the black leader most active during this time.

Parallel, according to a former participant of the Movimiento Joven Internacional (see below), Arturo Bobb, "At that time, in 1975, several movements of African studies emerged in Colombia and reached multitudes (…)." (Interview. Arturo Bobb. Skype call. 2015). As you will see below, somehow, almost every social, cultural and political organizations or expressions of the negritude that appeared during the 70s, relates to Manuel Zapata. For example, Rosalba Castillo, an afrocolombian leader who was a

university student at the time in Cali, remembers how she met Manuel Zapata Olivella in a public event: “The event was in the house of a friend and then we met in the fourth floor of Obras Públicas (State Institution) in Cali. (...). He made the presentation (…).” (Interview. Rosalba Castillo. Cali. 2015).

Baudilio Revelo, Guapireño leader of the Colonia Guapireña in Cali, also remembers, “Manuel Zapata Olivella organized tertulias, but I do not know what it was like. It was about negritude because at that time the civil rights movements were already being presented in the United States, (…).” (Intervie. Baudilio Revelo. Cali, 2016). Tiberio Perea, Marxist-Leninist of the PCC shares, “we met here in the mid-sixties in negritude meetings when it was on the agenda in the negritude movements (...), So, we had almost semi-clandestine meetings and among them we always had Manuel and a lot of other people everyone recognizes of our days.” (Interview. Tiberio Perea. Bogota, 2015).

He gave talks and conferences to the emerging afrocolombian groups and organizations in Cali, Popayan, Bogota, Cartagena, Pereira, Buenaventura, etc. Whether his attendees agreed with his arguments or not, Manuel Zapata was able to activate discussions and debates about negritude, mestizaje and black culture everywhere he went in Colombia: “(He) spoke about the tri-ethnic groups, he began to say that we were a mixture of the blacks, the mestizos, the Indians; that he [himself] was a proof; he was a mulatto, (…) but there was a lot of discrimination. (…). Then, we started to attend and started talking about it at the university; talk about the topic with friends, talk about it

with a lot of people, make meetings, we started talking about that topic. (Interview. Rosalba Castillo. Cali. 2015). Afrocolombian students saw Manuel Zapata Olivella as person who really knew about black history and culture. I would argue that the figure of Manuel Zapata Olivella helped many afrocolombians students to find their own path to the negritude.

All of them were university related group dynamics and collectivities. My literature review reports afrocolombian groups and organizations in Pereira, Soweto, which later in the 80s became the National organization, "Cimarron". In the city of Cali, in the residence of the University of Valle named "Bloque Uganda" which later emerged as "El Frente Amplio por la Liberacon del Negro Colombiano". Like Soweto, its members came from Chocó, Buenaventura and the north of Cauca. Unlike Soweto, "El Frente Amplio por la Liberacon del Negro Colombiano" included students from Guapi and Tomaco.

Out of the university of Valle's group dynamic, afrocolombians from the north of Cauca created "La Minga". In Popayan, afrocolombians from the Colombian Caribbean, Chocó, north of Cauca, Guapi and Tomaco created an organization that appears in the literature as "Cimarron Cultural". In Buenaventura, groups such as "Black Panther", "Black Muslins" and "La Olla". In Tunja, emerged "Tabala" group. In Bogotá, a group of Afrocolombians and African American created "Movimiento Joven Internacional José Prudencio Padilla, Cultura Negra e India en Colombia." Finally, in late 70s in Cartagena, young afrocolombians, from Palenque de San Basilio, created "Asociación Cultural de Palenque". Only Soweto would evolve to a national organization named Cimarron in the

later 80s. It still operates in Colombia. The others were short lived dynamics. Some of their members would join other afrocolombian organizations.

They were study oriented groups that prepared themselves to know and debate topics such as race, racism, black politics, culture and history. They documented the importance of Palenques Cimarrones as forms of local radical black struggles. They recognized and paid tributes to national figures such as Jose Prodencio Padilla, Jorge Artel, Manuel Zapata Olivella, Diego Luis Cordoba, Leonor Gonzales Mina, etc. They paid attention to political, social and cultural phenomena in the United States, Africa and Cuba. They learnt radical political thoughts from radical intellectual and political figures such as Malcolm X, the black Panther Party (Carmicle), Angela Davis; Leopold Senghor, Cheik Anta Diop, Kuame Nkrumah, Aimé Césaire, Frantz Fanon, Patrick Lumumba; Karl Marx, Lenin, Che Gevara, Mao Tse-Tung. They studied African history, colonialism, capitalism and, the Jim Crow System, the civils rights movements, etc. By articulating all the literatures that they came across, they developed their own perceptions on black identity and racial discrimination in Colombia.

These student groups were far away from being homogenous even though they read similar materials. They have their own political agendas. Each might represent a distinctive political and intellectual tendency in the afrocolombian student black counterpublics. For example, Movimiento Joven Internacional José Prudencio Padilla, Cultura Negra e India en Colombia, the Asociación Cultural de Palenque and “La Minga” were more cultural oriented. However, the last two student groups represent the political

turn that Latin American intellectuals introduced in the left by developing their strategies to work hand in hand with grassroots organizations: Fals Borda's Participatory Action Research, "La Minga", and Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, the Asociación Cultural de Palenque. Soweto, black Panther party and black Muslin were most influenced by the radical discourses of the civil rights movements, Malcolm X, and the Black Panther Party. However, we can find a strong influence of the Marxist-Leninist ideologies during the first years of Soweto formation. Later, Soweto would take distance from left ideologies. By the late 70s, Soweto would include in its repertoire of action community works with black domestic workers and prisoners. "La Minga", "Soweto" and "Asociación Cultural de Palenque" came up with less academic formation work, and more social base activism. "El Frente Amplio por la Liberacion del Negro Colombiano" was Marxist-Leninist oriented.

The Movimiento Joven Internacional José Prudencio Padilla, Cultura Negra e India en Colombia is a very important dynamic for the circulation of the negritude discourses. This student dynamic can help us connect other afrocolombian organizational dynamics and important afrocolombian political and academic figures. In other words, this organizations connects previous sites and forms of black counterpublics with those emerging black public spheres of the 70s. Also, this was the only site of black politics that emerged as an actual afrodiasporic public sphere in Colombia of the 70s.

By 1970s in Bogotá, the presence of afrocolombians in Universities such as "La Libre" and "La Nacional" increased. There were afrocolombians from Chocó, Puerto

Tejada, San Andres, Cali, Buenaventura, and Guapi. Some students such as Leonor Murillo and his older brother, were members of folkloric group created in the University of Nacional, since mid 60s by chocoano musician and composer Antero Agualimpia. Some others were member of the JUCO, Arturo Bobb and Natanael Diaz´son Eduardo Diaz Saldaña. Some others were just students who came to Bogota for education. Throughout the year, their geographical proximity, and some parties and gatherings, that they organized, created their conditions for interactions; social interactions that also included the spontaneous creation of tertulias of which Nino Caicedo remembers,

> we study in Bogotá. (...), there, I lived with Amilkar Ayala and through him, who had arrived first and had a relationship with the Olivella, not with Manuel as much as Juan, with David Sánchez Juliao, with Dr. Tufit Meluk Aluma, with Amir Smith Córdoba. Amilkar takes me to meet them, (...), I was like a student of the two; with Tufit Meluk and Amir Smith. With Meluk, they were reading evenings; He read us books in French, he read us black are the Gods of Africa. In that book, he showed us all the importance of the culture that had existed and had been created in Africa before it was Westernized. (Interview. Nino Caicedo. Cali. 2016).

This is the blueprint of how the negritude discourse started to agglutinate as a site of black counterpublics in 1973, named "Movimiento Joven Internacional José Prudencio Padilla, Cultura Negra e India en Colombia". Tufit Meluk Aluma, Serio-Lebanese descendant of a family stablished in Quibdó, Chocó since 1890, and whose father, Grabril Meluk Aluma, was a member of the Cordobismo, was a famous psychologist and professor of the University of Nacional at the time. He was also very close friend with Manuel Zapata Olivella, who at the time had already gained national recognition for his novels, books, folkloric investigations, folkloric radio and TV programs in national platforms, and the conferences he had been given on mestizaje in universities of Cali,

Bogota, Popayan, Medellin and Cartagena. In this sense, Tufit Meluk Aluma, and Manuel Zapata Olivella, plus chocoano and novelist Arnoldo Palacios were sources that made materials of the Negritude circulate in Colombia. Later, anthropologist Nina S. de Friedemann would join the group.

Tufit Meluk Aluma used to have subscription to the journal Présence Africaine (Interview. Amilcar Ayala. Cali. 2015). He held several meetings to discuss black related issues. Arturo Bobb, remembers, "[with] Tufik Meluk Aluma, we made infinite meetings in his house, over there in the north of Bogotá. He had a very large library (...), after that ... we were in different activities. Manuel and I worked for a while. Then, in the 75, he helped us a lot, (...). (Interview. Arturo Bobb. Skype call. 2015). Manuel Zapata had already been in New York where he established a long relationship with Langston Hughes, whom according to Prescott, introduced Manuel Zapata Olivella to negritude materials (Prescott, 2000, 2006); and Arnoldo Palacios had gone to Paris, France, where he met intellectual such as Frantz Fanon, Amie Césaire, and others (Interview. Arnoldo Palacios. Bogotá. 2015). At this respect, Tiberio Perea, expresses, "Arnoldo Palacios occasionally participated. He had an apartment on Calle 21 with Carrera 8va. There, we met for example." (Interview. Tiberio Perea. Bogotá. 2015).

Another source of the negritude in Colombia that contributed the formation of the Movimiento Joven Internacional José Prudencio Padilla, Cultura Negra e India en Colombia, was actual African American students. By 1973, African American and white American students came to study in Colombia. Among them, Laurence Prescott. African

American scholar who has dedicated his life to study black literature in Colombia. He has worked on Candelario Obeso, Jorge Artel, Manuel Zapata Olivella, Carlos Arturo Truque, Arnoldo Palacios, Natanael Diaz, and some others (see reference). Laurence Prescott himself confirmed that among African American were scholars Marvin Lewis, David Gilliam and his wife Bonita Gilliam. Laurence Prescott arrived at Bogotá in August of 73 with a Fulbright fellowship. He had already met Manuel Zapata Olivella in a conference that Manuel Zapata gave on Latin American literature in the University of Indiana; "Among the audience was Laurence who, eager to know, initiated an uninterrupted dialogue since then. Two points attracted Laurence: the fact of getting to know a black descendent Hispanic-American intellectual and the wonder and enigmatic world of the Colombian history.". (Martha Joselina Alonso, El Tiempo-Lecturas dominicales,1975:4).

Once the African Americans where in Bogota, they got along with Afrocolombians. Together, they created an international public sphere named "Entendimiento Mutuo" (Mutual understanding) where they discussed about black politics and culture in Colombia and in the United State:

> the events without much diffusion in which Professor Gilliam, his wife, some of our compatriots and I participated, along with several young Colombians, we baptized it "Mutual Understanding." In addition to Arturo Rodríguez Bobb, some other Colombians whose names are Doris García Mosquera, Eduardo Díaz, Leonor and Luis Murillo and Amilkar Ayala. We meet from time to time to foster greater understanding among us as people of African descent." (Email. Laurence Prescott, 2015).

In this space, there were several the themes discussed by them. They talked about

black leadership in the United States and Colombia, black culture and history there and here, and the obstacles they faced. Finally, there was always time to the politic of enjoyment. They met to dance and to listen to music,

> "Our conversations dealt with problems and issues specific to our respective peoples and relevant to the populations of Afro-America in general. We discussed in group or individually the ideas of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., Frantz Fanon and others. We learned the names of Diego Luis Córdoba, Natanael Díaz and other Afro-Colombian leaders. I remember that Dr. Manuel Zapata Olivella was present once, who gave us a real illuminating lesson about how the creole revolutionaries (eg, Bolívar) defeated and replaced the Spaniards, but stopped making major political, social and economic changes in favor of subordinate masses (blacks, indigenous people, mestizos). I think we meet once to listen to music and dance." (Email. Laurence Prescott, 2015).

It was then out of this collective dynamic that the name "Movimiento Joven Internacional José Prudencio Padilla, Cultura Negra e India en Colombia" came up. It recognized the youthful of its participants, and their Afro diasporic cultural and political exchanges. According to Amilcar Ayala, they chose Jose Prudencio Padilla for his significant role in the Colombia's independence and for his racially mixture origin that embodied the heritages of afrocolombians and indigenous populations; "So for this we named José Prudencio Padilla, black and Indian culture in Colombia, we worked the two libertarian elements as an identity." (Interview. Amilcar Ayala. Cali. 2015); symbolic construction that reflects Manuel Zapata's political and cultural influences on this Afro diasporic collective action.

In 1975, this group dynamic held a Black Cultural Week in Bogotá. This event is important because it articulates old and new black activists in the field of folklore or

culture, and sites and forms of black politics. For example, black literature (poems), black folklore (music and dances) and intellectuality; all related to negritude. The first day, Monday, the organizers presented the event's goal and the fallowing afrocolombians interpreted "black songs" (it says literately in the program given by former participant Arturo Bobb to me, Conciones Negras). Nenfalia, Fredy Garcia, siblings Leonor and Nicolas Murillo and Alfonso Cordoba, El Brojo; being the last three significant musicians from Chocó. The second day, Tuesday, they settled a round table where the fallowing speakers discussed the concept of negritude. Serio Lebanese Tufik Meluk Aluma; poet Luis Vidales; lawyer Rogelio Castillo; INCCA University rector Jaime Quijano Caballero; Central University rector Henry Loque Muñoz; lawyer Adolfo Mina Balanta; director of cultural activities of the Colombia-France Alliance Jean Paul; Manuel Zapata Olivella and anthropologist Nina Friedemann. The moderador of this round table was Afro-American intellectual Laurence Prescott.

On Wednesday, Delia Zapata Olivella spoke about the history of black folklore in Colombia and her folkloric group performed. On the same day, one unspecified member of the collectivity presented the work of Amie Césaire. On the next day, Thursday, the black problematics were discussed. In this discussion, Daniel Santacruz, Ricaurte Palacios and Eduardo Díaz Saldaña intervened; being the latter the son of Natanael Diaz. Also, on this day, other unspecified members of the collectivity performed a socio-drama play. On Friday, Arturo Rodríguez Bobb and Amilkar Ayala gave speeches on the world panorama of black communities; and Sebastián Salgado performed a poetic recital. On the last day, Saturday, the collectivity organized music performances and poetic recital:

Leonor Murillo y Nenfalia, Amilkar Ayala, Fredy García and his black guitar, Nicolas Murillo and his drums speak; Sebastian Salgado Raíz from Palenque; and Catalino del Manglar, the Mangle group.

I do not know how the discussion of negritude was addressed here. I did not have access to the contents of the presentations and music and recital performances. I imagine that they should have discussed the origin of the negritude, and its relation to the black culture in Colombia. From this point on, there will be several cultural, social and political events that discussed the idea of negritude. Valentin Moreno, former leader of Consejo Colombiano de la Poblacion Negra and Amir Smith Cordoba, former leader of CICUN will debate and/or agree with the fundamental principles of the mestizo negritude. Although, the black politics of folklore had others cultural trends, the siblings Zapata Olivella, Juan, Manuel and Delia, were key public figures who gained a lot visibility in Colombia as well as their Mestizo Negritude agenda. This was an academic, intellectual and cultural project that includes production of literature; publications; folkloric investigations; music and dance performances and tours; TV and Radio Programs; Conferences and Congresses about black culture and, for a couple of years, a political presidential campaign.

In the field of folklore and popular culture Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella worked mostly together. Their academic and cultural activities and events reflect not only what I call the Mestizo Negritude Project, but also their capacity and ability to activate and re-activate their web of relations and collaborations with explicitly purposes to affirm

a racial mestizo identity that, really, articulated the tri-ethnic components of Colombia. In contrast, being a poet and novelist, Juan Zapata Olivella participated in the political system of Colombia as a political candidate for public offices (see below). Being this project subordinated to other folkloric expressions, such as those coming from the Andean, the siblings' project dominated among other cultural projects within the black communities in Colombia. As you will see in later chapters, other afrocolombian critiques the idea of the mestizo negritude directed towards the siblings Zapata Olivella.

3. Making the Mestizo Negritude Public

In this section, I will describe and analyze the cultural activities and public events Manuel and Delia Olivella organized during the 70s in Colombia. These cultural activities and public events can be divided into 5 categories ordered as follows: a. Folkloric and Cultural Investigations; b. Music and Dance Performances; c. TV and Radio Programs; d. Conferences and Congresses; and e. Folkloric Production. This order is not random. Folkloric and Cultural Investigations were the groundwork of this cultural and academic project. Every cultural activity and public event was the result of Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella's folkloric and cultural investigations since the beginning in 1950 when they started promoting black, indigenous and mestizo folklores. Thus, the reader will see, through Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella's legacy and work, cultural and political thoughts that went from being self-identified as costeño, from the Colombian Caribbean, to be part of and activists of an afrodiasporic identity in Colombia and Latin America.

-Folkloric and Cultural Investigations

Empirical research was a fundamental pillar in the work of the siblings Zapata Olivella. They investigated folkloric and cultural expression from the 50s to the 90s. They went to every regional and geographical area in Colombia to study folklore and popular cultures. The cultural and academic works were fed by their cultural and empirical investigations. Ortega reports (Tompkins and Foster, 2001), "Already in 1950 she [Delia Zapata Olivella] had conducted research into the local folklore of the Lorica region, and in 1952 she brought traditional Caribbean music and performers to the country's capital."(Ortega, 296). This local research in Lorica served to realize the cultural richness of the Colombia Caribbean music and traditional dances. Two years later in 1954, when most people in Bogotá did not know anything about the existence of a distinct black culture, Delia Zapata Olivella persuaded *Batata I*, "a traditional sacred drummer from centuries-old runaway settlement of the Palenque de San Basilio", to play drums in a Lumbalúes ceremony performance in Bogotá. Batata is a clear example of what I call black palenquero literario intellectual of the Carribean; a postcolonial griot that preserved black culture in the Palenque de San Basilio. After him, there has been a long tradition of Batatas that have been playing the drums in funerary ritual in Palenque.

Batata's performance seemed to have acceptance in the white-mestizo audience of Bogotá. Its success led Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella to form their first folkloric group with black male and female performers and musicians from the rural and popular

areas of the Atlantic Coast, including Palenque de San Basilio. They were Illiterate. After some maneuvers, Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella managed to overcome classism and racism and presented their dance and music performance in "Teatro Colon", one of the top theater at the time in Bogotá. With them were the Traditional and legendary group "Los Gaiteros de Don Jacinto". After the performance, Delia Zapata Olivella remembers, "The spectacle was held and the next day the press said: 'The first black dancer of Colombia'." (Delia Zapata, 2002:95/quotation from the original). As a result, "(...) our spectacle is very good with the carnival dances (...) from now on our adventure is more serious. We must really devote ourselves to investigate and know what we are going to continue presenting." (Delia Zapata, 2002:96). Consequently, Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella initiated an investigative process that led them to conduct fieldwork in the Atlantic Coast and in the Pacific Region during the 50 and 60s (Valderrama, 2014 and 2016). In 1970s, Delia Zapata Olivella "spent two months in the Colombian Islands of San Andrés and Providencia in the Caribbean." (Ortega, 298).

The siblings Zapata Olivella sooner realized that there was a lot more to do than just performing dances. They developed their own syncretic and inclusive epistemological approach (Arboleda, 2016) to study the Colombian Cultural Identity. For example, their approach included fieldwork (in rural areas), a historical and subaltern perspective (where the peasants' and elderly's wisdoms were respected and valuables and cultural activism that recognizes that the mutual influences among racialized groups (blacks, indigenous and whites) because of the cultural oppression, slavery and colonialism (see Valderrama, 2014); their cultural activism; and, finally, their approach

led Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella to create a web of relation and collaboration to study, promote and perform cultural and folkloric expressions. In my opinion, these methodological elements situate Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella outside of the folkloric canon that sought for cultural authenticities in popular culture. This perspective led them to understand the complexity of the cultural phenomenon in Colombia:

- Performances and Tours

Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella displayed two folkloric and popular cultural strategies to make their project public. Folkloric groups and Theater. For the former, Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella formed several folkloric dance and music groups. I identified ten folkloric groups from 1950 to 1998[32]. She performed black, indigenous and mestizo dances and music in Colombia, Latin America, Asia, Europe and the USA. In the beginning, they started forming black folkloric groups. Throughout the 70 and 80, their groups were mixed, black and white-mestizo performers. By 2000, the presence of black was reduced. In 2015, I went four times to Palenque in the Candelaria, Bogotá, to talk with Edelmira Massa Zapata. I observed that the people that frequent the place is mostly white-mestizo. This is also the perception that some afrocolombian leaders have today about the Delia Zapata Olivella's folkloric groups.

However, it is important to highlight the relevance of the first folkloric groups for making black identity public by performing black culture. Through the 50s and 60s,

[32] See http://www.musicalafrolatino.com/pagina_nueva_65.htm. Last consulted, 1-16-2018.

white and mestizo elite considered black culture barbaric, wild and backward, to the point that in the novel "Risaralda", Bernardo Arias Trujillo used the phrase "Erudita barbarie" (erudite barbarity) to describe the social and cultural organizations of the black communities in Resaralda (see Valderrama, 2016). In this sense, for white elites, scholars and politicians, the idea of mestizo meant whiteness. In other words, the presence of afrocolombians and black culture in the idea of Colombian Identity were not only denied but also rejected to the extent that white elites in Colombian wanted to bring Europeans to whiten the population of Colombian.

Modernity and progress meant blanqueamiento- whitening, and culture was important to unify Colombia as mestizo nation. Delia and Manuel Zapata seemed to have been understood this process. I think that what they did show their political intellectualities and motivations of their cultural and intellectual work. With black folkloric groups, Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella sought to blacken the national Identity of Colombia by making black and indigenous cultural aspects public in an environment that denied and rejected them. Thus, by having these folkloric groups touring and performing black and indigenous dances and music, by black female and male bodies, in Colombia, Latin America, Asia, Europe and the USA, was one way to contest the idea of mestizaje from below.

Table 5
5. Folkloric Choreographies

#	Year	Choreography's Name

1	1970	Cuatro Zonas Colombianas
2	1977	Atabío la Última Profecía de los Chibchas
3	1978	Cabildo en Carnaval
4	1979	Las Hilanderas de Boyacá
5	1980	La Natividad, Retablo de la Costa Pacífica
6	1981	Nuestros Dioses Africanos
7	1982	San Pascual Bailón
8	1983	Cabildo a Changó
9	1986	El Velorio del Boga Adolescente
10	1987	Estampa de los Llanos Orientales De Colombia

Table 5 shows 10 folkloric choreographies mounted by the siblings Zapata Olivella. The first dance conveys folkloric dances from Colombian Caribbean, Pacific region, Andean and the Amazon. The second and third convey indigenous culture. The fourth does for Andean culture. The fifth, sixth, eighth, ninth convey afrocolombian culture. And the last one of indigenous culture. According to a report, "Memoria Casa de Delia Zapata Olivella"[33], it states, "Having the experience of the Anonymous Identity Theater, the Foundation structures the concept of Joint Assembly, which responds to the application of the inseparable links between theater, music, dance and the plastic arts." (Memoria Casa de Delia Zapata Olivella). The Anonymous Identity Theater also implies inclusion of the dancers, singers and musicians from white-mestizo, afrocolombian and indigenous communities (see below).

With folklore, Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella challenged the domination in another sense. They also contested the meaning of *Fine Art*, and the *high culture* for that

[33] I thanks Catalina Zapata-Cortés who handed this document over during my field work in Bogotá.

matter, in a historical moment when Fine Art was exclusively of the high and elite classes. By studying, performing and writing about cultural and folkloric expressions, Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella situated Art in different new cultural framework that sees art as "way of life". Their folkloric groups performed Choreographic Dances. They called these choreographic dances "Estampas" (Stamps) because what they performed were quotidian aspect of the black life, cultural and social organizations. For example, black religiosity was portrayed by performing arrullos, alabaos and lumbalues. Also, by performing Estampas, folkloric groups reproduced local and regional dialogues, phrases and cadences; played local and regional musical instruments; wore local and regional cloths and accessories, etc.

Thus, by affirming blackness, the politics of Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella's intellectual work reflects a war or representation that not only challenged negative racial stereotypes but also the idea of culture understood as an exclusive expression of the Fine Art. However, the paradox of affirming blackness and indigenousness, and redefining the meaning of culture and arts in the public did not, necessarily, meant a revalorization of the black and indigenous cultural expressions. It was quite the opposite. What the Colombian society took from these performances was not what the siblings aimed to convey in their estampas; meanings, cultural representations and practices. What the society did take from the sibling's folkloric performances was just the vehicle through which the black culture was presented, the dance. It was around this time when afrocolombians were recognized as very good dancers. It was not folkloric dance performances the main cause; but at least, it reinforces the stereotype that started in the

slavery. My sense is that the more black and indigenous cultural expressions became public and known in Colombia, the more they have become invested with exotic and erotic meaning. In other words, they have never been detached from their folkloric meaning.

The affirmation of black, mestizo and indigenous identity and the challenge to the idea of high culture and Fine Art came also through theater. Like folkloric groups, theater was a channel through which black, indigenous and mestizo identities became public in Colombia of 1970s. Diaz (2003) reports six plays written by Manuel Zapata Olivella. There are, “Los Pasos del Indio”; “Hotel Vagabundo” (1955); “Caronte liberado” (1972); “EL Retorno de Cain”, “Mangolanga el Liberto” and “Las Tres Monedas de Oro”. The former play narrates “(…) the life of an indigenous community in the Caribbean of descendants of the Araguá family, the same of which the Taínos were part, who lived in Cuba and the Dominican Republic.” (Diaz, 2003:281). The second play, “Hotel Vagabundo”, narrates the experience of Manuel Zapata Olivella in New York. The third play portrays “the era of Colombian dictatorships during the period of political violence of the 1950s” (Diaz, 2003:282). Like “Caronte liberado”, “EL Retorno de Cain” reflects the period of violence in Colombia. “Mangalonga el Liberto” play was based on “the chronicle of the time of the conquest and colonization of this territory when it was called New Kingdom of Granada.” (Diaz, 2003:283), represents the maneuvers and scheming of enslaved to obtain his liberty in the slavery system. And, finally, “Las Tres Monedas de Oro” is a play made up for kids and is based on a “story written by his father (…).” (Diaz, 2003:283).

The theater was another outlet used by Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella to make black public. The siblings Zapata Olivella also developed a street theater strategy to reach out to popular audience. They called it "Teatro Anónimo Identificador" (Brad H., n.d.). Its name reflects what the siblings Zapata Olivella sought to produce, Cultural identification, "both for the actors and for the public, [with] the cultural patterns of a certain Colombian region." (González, 1975:63). Brad H. Wright suggests that Manuel and Delia Zapata Olivella's theater were both built upon and challenged many of the deepest traditions in Latin American theater. For example, the Teatro Taller de Colombia, "theater of the oppressed" (*teatro del oprimido*), the popular education movements and Experimental Theater (Enrique Buenaventura inn Colombia and Do Santos in Brazil). Like folkloric dance and music performances, the Fundacion Colombiana de Investigaciones Folcloricas "has been dedicated first to investigate for several months in the Colombian province, in the different regions in which the territory has been divided for this purpose, on oral, musical, housing, religious, etc., collecting all this material on tapes, slides, photographs and films that are then classified and carefully studied." (González, 1975:63).

The theater team was composed by professionals. Delia Zapata Olivella, who coordinated dance and music; González Cajiao as a director and writer; sociologists Raul and Gregorio Clavijo; researcher Roger Serpa; and Alvaro González as a filmmaker and producer (González, 1975). First, they, along with Zapata Olivella, collected popular and folkloric materials (music, instruments, songs, stories, myths, food, work, relations

between men and women, religiosity, and philosophy) and, second, produced the plays based on these popular and folkloric materials. Like the folkloric groups, performers were "farmers, fishermen, small merchants, housewives, seamstresses, etc. and although many of them faced theatrical work for the first time, they demonstrated an enormous talent for improvisation, a surprising memory and imagination, and an extraordinary physical Resistance." (González, 1975:65).

Manuel Zapata reports the creation of two plays: "Rambao" and "El Bolivar Descalzo"[34]. The former reflected the cultural patterns of Department of Choco and the Colombian Caribbean. Rambao was made from local oral tradition[35]: "It is an anonymous story collected in the same Department, in the Tierra Alta region, by the researchers of the Foundation, and that was selected for its marvelous literary quality and because it accurately reflects the cultural patterns of the Atlantic Coast; In addition, in the Pacific Coast, a similar story was collected, although with different names, characters and situations, which made it possible to represent both coasts in the same work." (González, 1975:64). The performers were mostly blacks and zambos. According to Brad H Wright, the Teatro Anónimo Identificador performed Rambao six times during 1975: in Lorica, Zapata Olivella's hometown, on March 19 and in August; in Montería, Córdoba on March 22; and days later, in Ayapel; in Bogotá in May; Arauca in July; and in Boyacá in October.

The last play, "El Bolivar Descalzo" "was based on the Libertarian's Expedition

[34] See Brad H. Wright in http://mzo.library.vanderbilt.edu/etnografico/teatro. Last consulted, 1-19-2018.
[35] The reader can see the video on YouTube. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p4hRV2q2Xdo

of 1819, based on the oral tradition of the villages where the libertarian deed (Arauca, Meta, Boyacá, Cundinamarca y Tolima). This play was inspired by the popular memory. They recollected the remembrances and memories of the peasants of these regions to collect the experience and meaning that Bolívar has in the town. It tells the trajectory of the libertarian Simon Bolivar through the diverse regions of the Llanos Orientales, Cundinamarca and Boyacá in Colombia. The performers of these play were mestizos from the region who face theater for the first time. Performances of this play took place Cundinamarca, Tunja, Boyacá and Bogotá. According to the contents of these dances and plays, I can state that these events were framed within popular culture and folkloric expressions. "Rambao" is more a black politic of folklore oriented play and the "El Bolivar Descalzo" inscribed in popular culture. Both, represent the idea of mestizaje where black, indigenous and white-mestizo presences are at the play.

- TV and Radio Programs

The intervention of the siblings Zapata Olivella in mass media was significant. I found an extensive work of TV and Radio programs dedicated to make their mestizo project public. Among the TV and radio programs produced by siblings, we can find soap operas[36] and folkloric dance and music programs since the 50. The Radio Nacional -RN- (National Radio) states in its website[37], "in the fifties, on stations such as the Voz de la Víctor and the Radio Nacional, this and other music from the coast was slowly entering

[36] Díaz lists the soap operas written by Manuel Zapata Olivella, (Díaz-Granados, 2003): a, "Murallas de Pasión" (Walls of Passion); b. "Amor Salvaje" (The Savage Love); and "Ojos Vendados" (Blindfolded) in the 70s. In 1985, he wrote "El Siete Mujeres" (The man with Seven women).
[37] https://www.senalmemoria.co/articulos/%C2%BFy-su-emisora-es-popular.

with the initiative of speakers and presenters such as doctor and anthropologist Manuel Zapata Olivella, who sought to expand the spectrum of Colombian popular music, so close to bambuco and other string music, to allow the recognition of other identities that are also part of the nation." (Perilla, 2013). In this Website, there is an audio in which Manuel Zapata Olivella recounts who initiated this process in the Radio National. He states,

> In 1941, the founder of a coastal music program, it was not me, but my brother Juan, he organized a program in the Voz de la Víctor that he called 'La Hora Costeña'. However, he himself could not stay here and he return to Cartagena, and then I stayed at the front of the program. This program received a great reception, particularly in the coastal colonies that were not as numerous as they are today, but particularly in the Bogotá audience (…). (Perilla, 2013).

The RN (Radio Nacional) presented popular music since the beginning. However, its emphasis was on Andean instrumental music (Perilla, 2014b), bambuco and porro. It was after two decades, 1957, when popular music different from the Andean came public through the RN. It was Delia Zapata Olivella who led the program "Música popular colombiana" (Colombian Popular Music) for a short time and presented the Colombian Caribbean popular music that, at the time, were rejected by mestizo elites in Bogotá and in some other places in Colombia. According to Peter Wade (2000), this popular music from the Colombian Caribbean was perceived as too black and for that matter, savages and uncivilized (Wade, 2000). Thus, the siblings Zapata Olivella, plus the influences of popular music such as "Son" from Cuba, "Jazz" from the United States, "Tango" from Argentina, and the industrialization of the popular music (Wade, 2000), contributed to popularized Colombian music that were not well accepted or considered high culture or fine art (classic music and ballet).

Table 6
6. Radio Programs

#	Year	TV/Radio Program	TV-Radio Operator
1	1941	La Hora Costeña	RN
2	1956	Estampas Folclóricas del Pacífico	RN
3	1957	Música Popular Colombiana	RN
4	1980	Identidad Colombiana Norte y Sur del Vallenato	RN -Inravisión
5	1983	"De viva Voz"	RN
6	1985	Radio Central Cultural y Artesanal del Bajo Sinú	Foros Radiales de la Cultura Popular
7	1985	Formación Abierta y a Distancia	Radio Foro Popular- Lorica
8	1985	Asesoria Para Producción de Video	SENA-FAO

Table 6 also describes the trajectory of the siblings Zapata Olivella. The reader can see that the mestizo negritude project began with radio programs dedicated to the Colombian Caribbean Identity within the framework of folklore to end up with programs dedicated to the national identity within the context of popular culture. Initially, the siblings Zapata Olivella's programs were dedicated to the Colombian Caribbean popular music, "

> That work is part of a time of changes in the tastes and musical consumption. In the 60s and 70s the recordings of Bovea and Vallenatos, Los Corraleros de Majagual, Los Gaiteros de San Jacinto, groups so-called "Chucu Chucu", the Vallenato Festival began and began to generate what later it was called Terapia and what today we know as champeta." (Perilla, 2014b).

In 1956, in the National University of Colombia, Manuel Zapata Olivella gave a speech about oral traditions. "In a section of his speech, he focused on what he called

'Lloros'. These are funeral songs that during the sixteenth century, like so many other musical manifestations of the slaves, were condemned by the Church." (Perilla, 2014a). In the RN website, there is an audio in which, from an afro-americanist perspective, Manuel Zapata Olivella talks about these "lloros" as a heritage of the African culture. These religious cultural practices found in Cartagena were prohibited by the Catholic Church; because of this prohibition, he states, it was too hard to find any other lloros in Cartagena, and Santa Marta (Perilla, 2014a).

In contrast, Esteban Cabezas Montaño, close friend of the siblings Zapata Olivella, led, for a short period of time, the program "Estampas folclóricas del Pacífico" (the Pacific Folkloric Stamps)[38]. On the other hand, around the 80s the siblings Zapata Olivella could stablish a more concrete relationship with the RN. This facilitated them to hold a radio program named "Identidad Colombiana". The RN website provide three short audio clips (see Perilla, 2015). These clips refer to the folkloric traditions of the Pacific region and of the Colombian Caribbean; the two-famous novel of Menuel Zapata Olivella, *Changó el gran putas* (1983) and *El fusilamiento del Diablo* (1986); and Vallenato music. Through these audios, we can observe the influence of the negritude movements; specially in his novel *Changó el gran putas*. This novel, conceived during the Dakar colloquium, recovers the history (Africa, slavery and republicanism), resistance and cultural survival (Muntú) of the African descendent in the America, north and south.

[38] The website does not provide more information about this program. See https://www.senalmemoria.co/articulos/gaiteros-de-san-jacinto-y-los-zapata-olivella-nuevos-tiempos-en-la-radiodifusora.

As to the TV programs, the newspaper “El tiempo” listed the themes covered in the Colombian Television. In this list appears signer Leonor Gonzales Mina and Delia Zapata Olivella’s Folkloric groups as representatives of the Colombian folklore (music and dance). (El Tiempo, Enero 9- 1968 p. 24). Identidad Colombiana also was presented in TV after the 80s. Unfortunately, I did find the contents of these materials. On the other hand, Carlos Velasco (2008) also registers Verbo y Ritmo de America (Verb and Rhythm of America) led by Esteban Cabezas Montaño. In 1960, this program was showed on Saturdays. “The Afro music is in the whole American continent, the verb that is the word and the rhythms created by Africans in the American continent from candombe in Argentina; jazz in North America; the Cuban son; and cumbia and currulao in Colombia, among others.” (Velasco, 2008, p. 50). For a short period of time, this TV program showed afrocolombian music such as patacoré, currulao, bunde and juga from the Pacific Coast. Also, for these programs, Esteban Cabezas Montaño mounted a small band with Gaiteros de Don Jacinto and Toto La Mompozxina’s brother Danielito (Velasco, 2008).

- Conferences and Congresses

Table 7 shows some of the conferences and congresses in which Manuel Zapata Olivella, and his web of relations and collaborations, participated either as organizer or speaker. Like the other areas of work described above, this table shows how the public events point out the trajectory of the sibling Zapata Olivella. It goes from the used of folkloric framework to the negritude-black culture languages. Keep in mind that for this

project, black identity as well as indigenous and white-mestizo identities, as the result of their mutual physical and cultural mixtures. Thus, the first Congress's name refers to nationalist understanding of the national culture or identity. In contrast, the last Congress's name suggests a more afro-diasporic construction of the national culture or identity.

Table 7
7. Conferences and Congresses

#	Year	Conferences and Congresses' Name
1	1966	I Congreso de la Cultura Colombiana
2	1974	Encuentro Folclórico de las dos Colombias
3	1977	I Congreso de la Cultura Negra de las Américas
4	1977	Exposición del Sombrero Colombiano
5	1983	I Ciclo de Religiosidad Afroamericana
6	1983	I Simposio sobre Bibliografía del Negro en Colombia.
7	1983	II Congreso de la Cultura Negra de las Américas.
8	1984	II Ciclo de Religiosidad Afroamericana
9	1986	III Congreso de la Cultura Negra de las Américas.

Manuel Zapata Olivella states in his book 'La Rebelión de los Genes' (the Gene Rebellion) (1997) that the most direct projection of the Dakar Colloquium was the convening and realization of the Congresses of the Black Culture of the Americas. Just four years later, this Congress took place in Cali, Colombia. In 1983, the second Congresses of the Black Culture of the Americas was held in Panama and the third in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in 1986. By early 90s, "The agglutinating actions of the Congresses remains alive in the original spirit: that of maintaining and justifying the continental links between Afro-American diaspora with its brothers and allies of Africa and the world."

(M. Zapata Olivella, 1997, p. 103). The forth Congress was conceived necessary, but there was not forth Congress. These Congresses congregated black intellectuals, activists and artists from several places in the African diaspora. For the region, the Americans, these were the possibilities to articulate local, regional and global anti-racist agendas with different perspectives and ideological trends.

For their relevance to the development of the negritude movements in Latin America, it is urgent to study the contents, themes and topics debated in these events. There are many rich discussions that deserve rigorous analysis to understand black movements in the region. Specially, because these events articulated the multiple meanings and perceptions of the negritude in the African diaspora. Because of my time limits, the 70s, here, I focus just on the first Congress that took place in Cali in 1977. My methodological decision is not only about the time considered for this dissertation. It is also because the second and third Congresses brought up proposals and debates that faced different challenges from those of the 70s. For example, from the Colombia point of view, the 70s were a period of consolidating references to mobilize blackness. Negritude was one of them. With it, the first Congress would strongly affirm the presence of black culture in the Americas. As I have been describing, negritude was developed in a political context characterized by class struggles; class discourses that trended to overlook or devalue racial struggles, plus the predominant of the ideology of mestizaje-blanquemiento. At that time, the debate about class, black identity and culture within the Congress was incipient. In contrast, from the 80s on, the Congresses would face many internal and external challenges. Radical anti-racist discourses articulated around

cimarronism, the African-American anti-racist agendas (Malcolm X, Black Parther Party, Angela Davis, etc); Frantz Fanon's philosophy; black women agendas; grassroots organization agendas; class issues; and the neoliberal economy would be central forces that shaped these Congresses' dynamics. Because, these congresses deserve detailed analysis, I decided to concentrate just on the first Congress as a case that describe what happened during the 70s.

- The First Congress of Black Culture in the Americas

This congress took place right at the time at the multiple sites and forms of black politics became public at the national context. Consejo Nacional was holding their national encounters and their political candidates were running for the presidency of Colombia and local offices (see chapter 7). CICUN had published two editions of its magazine 'Negritude' and was about to start its first Seminars for the Education and Training of School Teachers on Black Culture (see chapter 8). Thus, when the first Congress took place, the negritude movements had already gained some visibility in national news media.

The first Congress generated a lot of expectations among afrocolombians. Manuel Zapata Olivella and some allies of his web of relations and collaborations activated public spaces for the preparation of the events. Of course, this web of relations and collaborations had already become afro-diasporic as the following statement shows, "My first confidants were the enthusiastic members of the Instituto de Estudios Afro-peruano,

headed by the young educator and sociologist José Campos Dávila, with whom I exchanged letters through the Centro de estudios afrocolombianos. After two years of contact, travel and preparatory conferences, the first congress of black culture of the Americas was inaugurated on August 24, 1978." (M. Zapata Olivella, 1997, p. 100). In this sense, the first Congress was sponsored by La Fundación Colombiana de Investigación Folclóricas, El Centro de Estudios Afro-colombianos led by the siblings Zapata Olivella and La Asociación Cultural de la Juventud Negra Peruana led by José Campos Dávila.

In Colombia, there were several preparatory conferences before the first congress. These preparatory events sought to define the political and cultural agenda for the Congress. Juan Zapata Olivella reported the conference that took place in Cartagena as follows,

> The key aspects of the black culture with a new psychoanalytic approach, the study of its secrets and its greatness in the Americas, has just been fulfilled in a preparatory conference for the first congress of the black culture of the American continent that will take place in July of 1977 in the Bogotá. The meeting promoted by El Centro de Estudios Afro-colombianos was held in Cartagena de Indias, a wonderful setting for this assembly of black, mulatto and zambo features that flourishes in all its corners. (El Tiempo, Juan Zapata Olivella, 1976:4a).

I do not know exactly how many preparatory conferences were held before the first Congress. However, Rosalba Castillo talks about many that were held in Cali, Cartagena and Buenaventura, "these meetings were held in Buenaventura, Cali, Cartagena, in many places. The congress had not been held, but it took place after he (Manuel Zapata Olivella) had held previous meetings and had talked about the tri-

ethnicities everywhere, (…)." (Interview. Rosalba Castillo. Cali. 2015).

Initially, the Congress was planned to be held in Bogotá as Juan Zapata Olivella mentioned it in his journalistic note. Nonetheless, the Congress ended up being held in Cali. The reason why the Congress was moved to Cali are unknown, but Rosalba Castillo may offer a clue to understand this change of place, "there was already here, in Cali, groups that worked on that issue in a clear way, (…)." (Interview. Rosalba Castillo. Cali. 2015). At the time, Consejo Nacional de la Poblacion Negra was operating in Cali, which means that there was a lot of movements and activities in Cali at the time the Congress took place. Plus, Cali is closer to two crucial areas were black politics have been active since the 70s. Buenaventura in the Pacific region and Puerto Tejada in the north of Valle.

Between August 24 and 28 the first Congress took place in Cali. There were delegates from Angola (1); Brazil (6), among them Abdadias do Nascimiento; Colombia (63) among them Rosalva Castillo, Carlos Calderon from Chocó, Jorge Artel and Aquiles Escalante from the Colombian Caribbean; Helcías Martán Góngara and Agustin Revelo from Guapi and currently leader of the confederate of the colonies in Cali. Marino Viveros Mancilla from north of Cauca and one of the survival of the El día del Negro events, Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella, Manuel Zapata Olivella' wife Rosa Bosch and nephew Alexis Zapata who had participated in the organization created in Popayan years before.

Some well-known mestizo intellectuals from Colombia that participated in this

Congress were anthropologists Nina S. de Friedemann, Nancy Motta and Jaime Arocha. These anthropologists would be key actor during the constitutional reform in 1991 (Agudelo, 2005). There were also participants from Costa Rica (1); Chile (1); Ecuador (4); Egypt (1); Spain (1); the United States (23), among them, African American intellectual Laurence Prescott, and Charles Wright; from Honduras (3); Mexico (1); Nigeria (3) among them Soyinka Wole; Panama (8); Peru (2); Puerto Rico (1); Senegal (3); and UNESCO and OEA delegates (2) (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, pp. 13–14).

For Manuel Zapata Olivella, who assumed the presidency of the Congress, this sought to discuss common problems, homologous aspects in religious thought; in the ways afro-America faces racial discrimination; of how Afro-America assimilates the values imposed by the colonizer; and the variety forms in which the slaveholders' culture have influenced Afro-America (M. Zapata Olivella, 1988). Table 8 shows the objectives that the Congress sought to fulfill. One thing that we can observe in this table is the term used to refer to black communities in the continent. America is not exclusively north America and the word Afro-America does not refer solely to African Americans as they are used in many spaces in the United States. America and Afro-American are expressions that sought to include black population from every country in the American continent. Therefore, the name of the Congress, the first Congress of Black Culture in the Americas. Second, although the terms and language sought to include blacks in the Americas, the objectives reflect the experiences of black population in south America.

Table 8
8. Congress' Objectives

#	Objectives
1	To increase the ethnographic, social, economic, psychological, political and artistic studies, tending to locate the black man within the historical context of the Americas.
2	To re-establish the African values and contributions regarding the black populations' sentiments and aspirations.
3	To unify the actions and objectives of the black culture's researchers in our continent.
4	To plan the future researches based on the orientations and conclusions obtained in the first Congress.
5	To create Institutions dedicated to the investigation of Afro-American values in the continent's countries, as well as the creation of close links and actions with those existing Institutions.
6	To promote the creation of a fund for the promotion and development of the Americas' black culture.

The Congress was divided by four areas of discussion. There were; a. Black ethnic and Mestizaje; Philosophy and Affectivity; Social and Political Creativity; and Material and Artistic Creativity. Like objectives 1, 2, 5 and 6, these areas of discussions corresponded more to racial problems in sought America and the Caribbean than in north America. So is the opening speech given by Zapata Olivella (see below). I would say that mestizaje has not been an object of discussion in north America until recently (see Bonilla-Silva, 2004) and objectives 1, 2, 5 and 6 reached some degree of development in north America with the New Negro, civil rights and the Harlem renaissance movements. On the other hand, there is not a single objective or area of discussion that refer to racism -which relates more to the African American racial experiences in the United States-, and black women agendas. Although, the dynamic of the debates would lead them to distinguish between racism in the United states and racial discrimination in Latin America. Objectives 3 and 4 reflect the intention to unite efforts from an Afrodiasporic perspective.

Once the areas of discussions were organized by delegates, Manuel Zapata Olivella gave his opening speech. For him, this was a new era for the American Identity. In this speech, Manuel Zapata Olivella addresses several crucial points that allow us to understand the anti-racist agenda mobilized by this event. Part of it was the way racism has operated in the Americas by denying the existence of a black culture and the contributions black communities have made in areas such as social, political, economic, artistic and religious spheres. Thus, by addressing the question why it is important to claim a black culture and identity in the Americas, Manuel Zapata starts his intervention by criticizing those who think black communities have not done anything for the American societies. He provides example of areas where he thinks black communities have participated and contributed with our black culture which is very much alive,

> The presence of black culture in America is omnipotent, alive, lucid, undeniable, however, from the official point of view black culture has remained ignored. In our schools and colleges, the African history is not taught; the blacks' creative participations in political, economic, cultural, religious and artistic life is eluded, minimizing it. (…). According to the most generalized thesis, Africans were brought to America as a mere work force and, therefore, they have only been estimated from the economic approaches, ignoring its participation in the areas of philosophy, thought, social behavior and artistic creativity. (M. Zapata Olivella, 1988, p. 19).

In this intervention, Manuel Zapata Olivella describes how the afro diaspora took place in the Americas. He talks about the colonial politics of human traffic, and the slaveholders' strategies to keep enslaved African,

> The regional or national approach (of the Congress) has been a merely

> coincidental. The plotting of the American black family is a derivative of the colonial policy exercised by the slave powers throughout their human trafficking. From the very capture in Africa to the dispersion of the slaves in America, slaveholders maintained very strict criteria to prevent the Africans' contingents from getting together to form black nationalities in America. Each country and each master took necessary measures to mix black communities, confront their different religious beliefs, revive already existing caste wars in Africa and, above all, erase their cultural identity. (…). To the dispersion imposed by the masters, language differences was another factor of division among colonized. From here comes the alienated division that separates Africans in communities that speaks English, Portuguese, Spanish, French and Dutch, referring Afro-America to European cultural processes and not to those of their African identity. (M. Zapata Olivella, 1988, p. 20).

Manuel Zapata Olivella argues that in Latin America it is common to deny the existence of racism. However, it is easy to observe blacks, and Indians, as well as their mestizo, mulattos and sambos descendants marginalized from the economic and social development. Manuel Zapata also questions those who reduce racial discrimination just to attitudes that express rejection towards skin color. For him, racial discrimination implies the use of a socio-economic approach that understands racial discrimination as a control mechanism inherited from the Colony to perpetuate privileges for mestizo and white community.

Discriminatory problems will be approached from their multiple fundamental aspects: the economic issues, the political reasons, the social differences, the religious prejudices, the racial mixtures, etc. This approach will permit clarify that what the so called racial discrimination, just seen from the skin color, has profound implications in the whole Latin America. Thus, this phenomenon will be examined throughout Latin America where discrimination assumed an essentially economic character, expressing itself in the stratification of castes. For the defense of such economic interests, a

complicated ethnic classification system was used; (…) it constituted a dense tapestry that impeded free access of the slaves and their descendants to the narrow circle of the privileged. (M. Zapata Olivella, 1988, p. 20).

According to Manuel Zapata Olivella, the first Congress was conceived to demand the inclusion of black cultural studies in the national educational programs of those countries with black presence, center, Antilles and South America. Particularly in Colombia, afrocolombian delegates "will present a proposal to formally incorporate the teaching of African history in elementary and secondary school." "In the Pan-American field of black studies, we will propose to the regional (OEA) and international (UNESCO) bodies to sponsor future congresses to study the problems of the Indian. In addition, it will be emphasized that the situation of the black is doubly afflicted. Because, in addition to the cultural marginalization of the black communities, social marginalization is at play since black communities are kept in uncommunicated areas, deepening the injustices left by slavery and the first decade of republicanism in the Americas (M. Zapata Olivella, 1988, p. 21).

The result of this Congress produced recommendation in the four areas of discussion listed above. Black ethnicity and Mestizaje was led by Abdias do Santo and Nina de Friedemann. This commission produced the following result. First, they listed nine statements in which they provide conceptual definitions about black ethnicity, racial discrimination and racism differentiated by regions. Thus, black ethnicity is when "an individual is pointed out as black and when he feels like black, an ETHNIC identity

appears, this identity is the foundation of a Black Ethnicity." (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 145). Racial discrimination occurs when "an individual or a group that is not black (…) exercises the power to deny educational, political or religious economic resources to a black or black groups, (…)." This contrast to the definition they presented about racism. The latter occurs "when the racial discrimination is regulated by a country's laws and institutions, (…)." For them, racial discrimination is practiced in an underhand, subtle, overt or covert manner in Latin America. In the United States, "[a]lthough certain laws of racism were abolished (…), racial discrimination at the private and institutional level is now exercised in a manner that pretends to be disguised and continues to be protected by law." These two definitions of racial discrimination and racism correspond to what today scholars refer as to everyday and institutional forms of racism (see Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Omi & Winant, 1994).

Both share the idea that skin color is the material and physical object through which racial discrimination and racism is exercised to produce structural racism or racial discrimination, "such discrimination uses the different shades of the black epidermal color as a mechanism to make the black man disappear through the ideology of blanqueamiento as the search for the ideal man to obtain better conditions of life and, with this mechanism, destroy political, economic, religious and familiar solidarity of the Black Groups. (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 145). It is also racism or racial discrimination when the treatment of white denies the participation and creativeness of the blacks in the Americas, when scholars deny the existence of

racism or when countries support systems of racial segregation such as the Apartheid.

Second, due to most of the national school texts omit the participation of blacks and that the history of black communities in America cannot continue to be based on chronicles of slavery. They demand: a. to include in scientific and educational texts the true contribution of the blacks in the construction of American destiny; b. to plan and encourage the dissemination of these texts in elementary and high school; university and family; and c. to spread this requirement in the areas of official decision of the different countries, international organizations, to the public in general, through the media (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 147).

There are two other aspects that call my attention from the results produced by this commission. First, they declared, "It has been pointed out that, although, negritude affirms that all blacks are part of a family and can have a place in Africa, it is not a mass return to the African continent but an identification with black culture and struggle in the different countries where black is present, to defend this identification and this culture." (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 147). Since, negritude was being used by whites to dominate blacks, negritude was considered as an alternative strategy for the black populations' participations and the claim of rights in the African diaspora. Thus, the debate was getting to the point where negritude needed to go beyond an elitist intellectual and cultural project. This was time when for the sake of negritude, the negritude ideologues must "go and work with the labor, marginalized, even illiterate populations; to work with them towards a true revolution of an economic, social, political

and cultural nature that does not allow neither exploitation nor racism." (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 147). In other words, the negritude movements needed to include a class perspective within their philosophical principles.

The philosophy and affectivity commission was led by Roy Simon Bryce and Angelina Polak. This commission states, among other things, the status of black is situated between social class and races because they continue to be situated in a social and economic inferiority; enslaved black labor was decisive for the enrichment of European and creole whites during the Colony. Today, by participating in the capitalist economy through informal jobs in urban centers and rural proletariats, allows owners to optimize their industrial and agricultural benefits; transformations that were produced throughout history have been often just merely formal. In practice, black population continue to be dependents. Finally, in Latin America, the existing correlation between race and social class has prevented blacks from clearly identifying the reasons for their social discrimination. (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 151).

This commission listed 10 recommendations that sought to improve the social condition of the rural black population. They request agro-industries to contribute with resources to study how to improve the condition of this population, avoid migrations to urban centers and the loss of black territories. It is an urgent call "to create universal solidarity with the struggle for the integral liberation of the black peoples of the America." (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 152). There

is a declaration that promotes the recognition of the important historical role played by enslaved black women in their continuous struggle for freedom as well as the ensuring of the survival of their race. In fact, the declarations states, “it is a desire that Congress proclaims throughout the hemisphere the essential contributions that black women have made and continue to make to the aesthetic and economic development of the new world.” In this sense, the commission request that every black man in the world should recognize the role played by black women in sustaining black family and the society in general. For black social movements in Latin America, this declaration constituted one of the antecedent of modern black women’s movements.

Social and Political Creativity commission was led Carlos Calderon and Faulkner Watts. This commission divided their recommendation into five components: a. Religious Thought; b. Political thought; c. Thought and Identity; Ideology; and Education. Out of their recommendations, I want to highlight what the commission expressed about Religious and political Thought, and Ideology. As to the first one, the commission recognizes “African religious forms are an element of cohesion within black communities, through which they affirmed the spiritual values of their culture.” Thus, African religiosity is perceived now as a form of politics since the first Congress encourage Afro-American religious forms as long as religious practices contribute for black communities’ social and spiritual liberation (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 155). In the political thought discussion, the commission identifies how racial discrimination denies the possibilities for black populations to accessing to their civil and political rights, even though, constitutionally,

these rights are granted for black populations. There is a final point that deserves to be mentioned. The commission states, "there are situations in which there are oppositions between the economically well-off and impoverished black populations, which prevents them, due to lack of solidarity and common actions, from achieving the civil and political rights denied by ethnic enemy groups." (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 157). This is an important point that reflects the debates the negritude movements were having through the 70s. Popular sectors of the black communities would claim different anti-racist agendas that inevitably would mark class distinctions within black communities (see chapter 7 and 9). Finally, in the ideology section, it states,

> "The Congress exalts the movement of the negritude initiated in 1932 by black intellectuals Leopoldo Sedar Senghor, Aime Cesaire and León Demás who organized the ideological context for the black-African culture generating the process of cultural decolonization for the black peoples of the world.However, being aware that the Afro-American blacks need to create their own ideology in the struggles for the cultural liberation, [negritude] stimulates those ideas that affirm their common identity in the Americas to unify the diverse black communities' social political thought in the world and in their struggle against colonial oppression."(Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, p. 156)

The final commission was the Material and Artistic Creativity. This commission was led by Aquiles Escalante and Delia Zapata Olivella. These commission recognizes that blacks have introduced new forms of art, techniques and philosophical conceptions to music, dances, sculpture, language, architecture, literature, crafts, and technology. Almost every one of these areas have been built on the basis of African culture (Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988, pp. 159–163). For these,

one of the recommendation states, “To ensure that the studies of the black culture are for the benefits of the race and humanity and that they do not remain at the level of academic, political, economic and individual exploitation.”(Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1988).

Table 9
9. Considerations and Propositions

#	Propositions
1	The African descendants reunited in this Congress manifest our solidarity with the purposes and decisions of the World Conference against racial discrimination that is taking place in Lagos, Nigeria, under the auspices of the United Nations.
2	Considering that, -in addition to the black subjugation and exploitation to slavery for more than 4 centuries, the republican and democratic governments have maintained overtly and covered racial discriminatory practices against blacks and their descendant mulattos and zambos in the economic, political, social and political fields. -most of the missionaries, historians, ideologues and anthropologists have accommodated their interpretations of Black cultural contributions in the Americas to the colonialist plunderers’ (expoliadores) conveniences. We condemn all the practices, theses and historical interpretations of the neocolonialism that pretends to minimize the rich creative participation of the blacks in our nationalities.
3	We condemn, strongly, the discrimination that have subjected blacks into the education systems and cultural programs of the different American countries as well as of the socio-cultural and economic development programs of the Pan American organizations.
4	Blacks have developed their creativity under deplorable conditions. The Congress reclaim to the countries and international institutions to incorporate in their budgets of artisanal development a specific social program for the black communities that get them resources, tools and loans to elevate their socio-economic conditions.
5	We consider that all the fine arts (literature, painting, sculpture, music, etc.) should aim to present a vigorous image and exaltation of the black man. Art must be tools for struggles, instruments of liberation, which would be as such if art includes problems of racial discriminations, the integral transformation of the State, that is, the implementation of socialism.
6	The Congress pays tribute to the poet Luis Pales Matos, Jorge Artel, Rogelio

	Sinan, Armando Fortune, and Ligia Alcázar de Artel.
7	The Congress commissions Jorge Artel and Helcías Martán Góngora to elaborate a song or hymn for the Afro-American blacks.
8	The Congress proposes the creation of the Pan Afro-American culture society.
9	The Congress recommends that national organizations and scientific institutions dedicated to produce historical studies, to create a permanent fund and to grant special help to do concrete researches on the presence of black culture and its influences in the Americas.
10	We denounce that the relationship between Panama and the United States is an example of colonial domination. The recovery [sovereignty] of the canal is a step to end colonial domination in Panama.

Table 9 resumes 10 considerations and propositions passed discussed and passed in a plenary session of the Congress. These propositions make clear that, despite the cultural emphasis of the Congress, this was essentially an anti-racist project; cultural and political project that incorporates de-colonialization and, incipiently, class and gender distinctions. From this point on, race, gender and class would be part of the anti-racist cultural and political agendas and discussions within the Afro-American's world. The first and eight propositions state clearly a Pan-African intention to articulate efforts globally or, at least, they express the desire to find ways to show solidarity and to reunite dispersed African descents. I would say that for the Congress' main goal was to affirm the presence of black and their contributions to the societies where blacks have been part of. This affirmation also implies a strong recognition of the capacity of blacks to be creative under subjugations. For this, black culture and art must become a political instrument for black liberation. According to the propositions, black culture and arts can be paths to socialism. Proposition 9 suggests a form of afro-reparation in the cultural field. According to the Congress plenary, some countries and scientific institutions have played a role in reproducing racial discrimination and racism. Their productions of knowledge have contributed to degrade black participations and contributions in the

economic, social, political and cultural field. For this, the Congress demands those organization to create a permanent fund and to grant special help to concrete researches on the presence of black culture and its influences in the Americas.

Finally, the reader could observe through this section the presences of terms that today are commonly used to refer to black populations and radical struggles. These are the terms: black community and ethnic and decolonization. For the former, it is clear that their use was not until the constitutional reforms (Agudelo, 2005; Castillo G., 2007). They even named white population as an enemy ethnic group. For the second, they use the term of decolonization which is a central concept in today's postcolonial theories. Thus, this suggests that the anti-racist agenda of the negritude movements was itself anti-colonial. So, the negritude movements contributed with new analytical categories (decolonization) to today critical perspectives (see also Curiel, 2007).

-Folkloric Productions

In addition to the creation of folkloric groups, choreographies and performances; the Teatro Anónimo Identificador: literature, articles, books and investigations on Colombian folklore (Arboleda Quinonez, 2010; Caicedo, 2013; Díaz-Granados, 2003; Valderrama Rentería, 2013; Zapata Olivella, 1997, 2010; and Zapata-Cortés, 2010); and TV and Radio programs, the siblings Zapata Olivella left an extensive and rich archives on folklore and popular culture. In their document Identidad Colombiana (see Zapata Olivella, 1989), there are more than 1000 achieves, between document-files, cassettes

and videos (see also Fundacíon Colombiana de Investigaciones Folclóricas, 1983). This material deserves a much deeper analysis that the one I can do in this presentation. However, I can say that these materials reflect the philosophical principle of the mestizo negritude that the siblings Zapata Olivella promoted. Just to offer an example, the siblings interview more than one hundred local intellectuals from the Andean, the Colombian Caribbean, Pacific region and the amazons. These interviews seek to recover oral traditions, dances, music and worldviews of the popular sectors. Today, these extensive folkloric materials are preserved by the University of Vanderbilt. These materials are available through its website[39].

The mestizo negritude was an anti-racist cultural project that went from affirming a Caribbean identity with the term costeño around the 40s to an afrodiasporic identity in the 70s. The findings show the key role played by the siblings Zapata Olivella during the formation of the black counterpublics. Their main contribution was through the field of culture. They made black presence and cultural contributions public through several strategies. Dance, theater, researches and studies, conferences and congresses; articles, books and novels. In these strategies, the siblings Zapata Olivella showed black communities with their history in Africa; the slave system exploitations; racial discrimination in the republican and democratic societies; class exploitations; and the African diaspora. Today, these are the cultural and historical elements that are part of the afrocolombian identities. At the same time, these cultural and historical elements are

[39] See http://mzo.library.vanderbilt.edu

subjects of debates.

CHAPTER 7
THE LIBERAL NEGRITUDE

In this chapter, I analyze the emergence, organizational structure and political agenda of the Liberal Negritude. With this anti-racist project, negritude passed from being an academic and intellectual project (like the mestizo negritude) to be a political project in the strict sense of the term politic (political party). It was Consejo Nacional de la Poblacion Negra Colombiana - the Consejo Nacional- (National Council of the Colombian Black Population) which mobilized this liberal version of the negritude. The Consejo Nacional represents a new phase of the black liberalism that emerged as an autonomous black public sphere aside from the liberal party. In a way, this black political expression is the result of the disillusioned generated by both the National Front agreement between liberal and conservative parties and the difficulties to find ways to mobilize a liberal anti-racist agenda within the traditional liberal parties. In this sense, what the liberal negritude project aimed with their anti-racist agenda was nothing else but to find equality due to in concrete, the Colombian state has been incapable of granting civil rights to afrocolombians. The liberal negritude political agenda aimed to extend what the State does not: rights, liberty, equality and fraternity for afrocolombians.

Led by chocoano and liberal Valentin Moreno Salazar, considered the ideologue and founder of the Negrtitude Movements in Colombia (Wabgou, et al., 2012), this organization had its main center of operation in Cali. Valentin Moreno Salazar had served as a political representative in the house of representative for the Department of Chocó and as a political councilor in cities such as Lérida-Tolima, Condoto and Buenaventura before arriving to Cali, around 1974. A year later, 1975, he and Genaro Bonilla Perlaza organized “El Primer Encuentro Nacional de la Poblacion Negra” (First National

Encounter of the Colombian Black Population) in Cali (see below); public event that gave birth to this social and political organization.

The Consejo Nacional gained significant visibility during the 70s and its public activities propitiated intense and vivid racial, and political debates. Its social and political trajectory is complex. It can be divided into two phases. The first, between 1975 and 1983, the Consejo Nacional grew spatially as a national organization, agglutinated multiples black public spheres and created chapters in different cities and towns of Colombia under the leadership of its elected president, Valentin Moreno Salazar. During his time, the Consejo Nacional assumed, defined and implemented its liberal and political agenda, and campaigned, in many occasions, for public positions. The second phase, from 1984 until around 1995, the Consejo National assumed, defined and implemented a much more populist political agenda under the leadership of Luis Enrique Dinas Zape, an afrocolombian from Puerto Tejada, who claims to have inherited Natanael Diaz's Legacy. Before participating and leading this organization, Luis Enrique Dinas Zape had militated in the CCP and the MOIR. He assumed the leadership of the Consejo Nacional after political disputes and mutual accusations of treasons and corruptions in these other organizations. During this new phase, the Consejo Nacional lost visibility, chapters and stopped political campaigns. For this report, I will concentrate in describing the first phase, which covers the period under studied in this dissertation.

1. A Liberal Black Organization for the Black Populations

After the mid 70s, black counterpublics took an autonomous form in the realm of politics in Colombia. For about seven (7) years, "El Consejo Nacional de la Población Negra" became the most visible and recognized form of the black counterpublics in Colombia. This organization shaped debates about black issues by leading a national social and political process that proclaimed what can be defined as *liberal racial justice* (Dawson, 2001). A liberal racial justice that demands equal opportunities for black population;

> The Colombian black population has been underestimated and has been considered as not important entity, that is incapable of neither deserving occupying public offices, nor positions in leading the State. Thus, for example, a black [person] is not admitted to the marine school, nor to the aviation school. He cannot do a military career. Ministries, embassies, governors, (…) and other positions of importance are forbidden to him. These and other reasons that were interminable to enumerate in these moments are the reason of the national movement of the negritude. (Magazin, El Pueblo, 1977).

Since the beginning, Regional and National Encounters were the main strategy of the Consejo Nacional to make their demands public. I identified three reginal and five national encounters from 1975 to 1982. The regional encounters took place within the State of Valle del Cauca. The National encounters took place in cities such as Cali, Bogotá, Quibdó, Medellín and Cartagena. Around the Encounters, the Consejo Nacional could deploy another key strategy. They created a political movement named "Movimiento de Negritudes y Mestizajes" (Mestizaje and Negritude Movement) and campaigned for public offices. These are the public events or encounters that I want to examine in this section. My aim is to highlight the social and political trajectory of the Consejo Nacional during its first phase and to analyze its political and social impact in

making negritude discourses public.

- First National Encounter of the Colombian Black Population

The first National Encounter took place in Cali, February 1975. It lasted three days (February 21, 22 and 23). This Encounter was held in an official institution, a salon where local politicians deliberate public policies for the city of Cali. This public event constitutes one of the crucial moment on the history and consolidation of the black counterpublics in Colombia. It congregated one hundred and eighty-three (183) delegates that came together from different cities, regions and states to discuss racial problems and to define, consensually, a political agenda. Thus, the historical and political value of this encounter stands in its effort to form a national black public sphere by articulating all individual and collectives from rural and urban areas; informal and formal organizations and different and contradictory political agendas; black professionals, liberals, left organizations, university students, artists and all black figures and exponents of the black community.

In this first national encounter, the Conjeso Nacional was constituted as a formal organization that sought to build a national organization with all sites and forms of black politics that existed in Colombia. The Consejo Nacional defined an organizational structure that replicates a "pyramidal logic (…), which reproduces the organization of the State in its territorial orders and (…), ultimately presenting organizational forms typical of political gamonalismo. The decisions, therefore, followed this course of concentration

of power at the central level, by national representatives. It is also said that each member is elected for a year, being removed or replaced by the corresponded council, (…)." (Arboleda Q, 2016, p. 136). Among the attendees were some of the old members that participated in previous site and forms of black politics. For example, Amir Smith Cordoba with Amilcar Ayala attended the event as representatives of the Joven Internacional Jose Prudencia Padilla group, from Bogotá; Marino Viveros and Arquimedes Viveros who were activists during the El dia del Negro event; The Colonias; Manuel Zapata Olivella was invited to participate in first encounter but the reasons of his absent is unknown (Wabgou, et al., 2012). Also, new activists and politician attended the encounter. For example, representatives from the university of Diego Luis Cordoba, Quibdó, Choco, professor and priest John Herbert Valencia Barco, and professor Nestor Emilio Mosquera, who remembers, "In the University, I led Afrocolombians movements and then when he [Valentin Moreno] knew that I was part of it, he invited me to attend the congress, (…)." (Phone Interview. Nestor Emilio Mosquera. Medellin. 2016)

A group of black professionals from Guapi, Buenaventura and Chocó, among them, Ivan Forbes attended; black muslin and black Panter Party from Buenaventura; students group from Popayán represented by Eliécer Hurtado; black liberal politician Jorge Fidel Fory; black Marxists Enrique Dinas Zape, Erminia Murgüeitio and Hernán Rodríquez, who remembers, "(...) and the people of Timba and Robles (Pacific region), who came to Cali and people from Buenaventura. There was Alicia Camacho and Eusebio Camacho and the sisters of Dinas [Zape] and a group of students from Popayán with Eliecer Hurtado." (Interview. Hernán Rodríquez, Patia, 2015). Also, Luis Enrique

Mina Zape remembers, "(…) Amilkar [Ayala] came, that is where I met him as a representative of the Jorge Tadeo Lozano University; representatives of all the universities from Bogotá came; people came from Chocó, the father who had a lot of strength (John Herbert Valencia Barco); people came from the whole department. It was great. (Interview. Luis Enrique Mina Zape. Cali, 2015). Luis Enrique Mina Zape also told me that Sabas Casaman, Marino Viveros and Aquimedes Viveros, the last two marched on the "El dia del Negro event", attended the national encounter. The name adopted for the organization shows this intension

The presence of all these black liberals, left, artists, professionals, intellectuals and political trends reflects the organizers' desires to create a national and inclusive space for black population. The event dynamic and structure reflects a space that sought to debate and formulate demands and strategies to solve the social, economic and political problems that had affected afrocolombians in Colombia. For this, they created five committees to work on the agenda. Committee I worked on the justification of the Encounter and projection towards the future; Committee II worked on Organizational Statutes; Committee III worked on the historical background of the black population and their historical participation in public positions; Committee IV worked on black population's contributions to art and culture; and Committee V was opened to free themes. Then, committee members presented their results related to each committee's goal. Out of the discussions, debates and proposals laid out in the Encounter, here I highlight some of the declarations defined in the encounter that reflect not only what they perceived as afrocolombians' needs but also the tensions and conflicts exposed by the

presence of different political ideologies and agendas that converged in the Encounter.

Since the first National Encounter, the political tensions within the Consejo Nacional became explicit. I would argue that these tensions make the Consejo Nacional as terrain of internal dispute between black liberals and socialists. While liberal Valentin Moreno conceives the Consejo Naciona as the result of "a group of professionals agreed to hold a black encounter in the city of Cali at the intellectual level to elucidate different topics that have been blocking the Colombian blacks' advancement and to find the path that allows to destroy those barriers." (Magazin, El Pueblo, 1977), Luis Enrique Mina Zape sustains, "Then, Valentin (...) gave that lame (flojo) and ventijuliero speech without [political] content of the same lying jargon." (Interview. Luis Enrique Dinas Zape. Cali. 2015). Likewise, Maoist militant Hernán Rodríguez, who came to the first national encounter in Cali, remembers

> (…) when I arrived there and the people applauded the right-wing speech of the same black parliamentarians from Chocó and Valle, very important people in ties and sitting on the board. When I arrived, I felt in the environment that the people were not happy and I gave a Moirist speech. When I spoke there was a change in the environment; because I gave my speech; people started to rage and the basis of everything was that I fought for the proletariat, (…), I said that the labor movement should include blacks, whites, Indians in the great house of the proletariat, (...) and in that order of ideas there should be no distinctions, that we should not be marked as liberals or conservatives, [we rather adopt[a socialist-type policy and that we would not allow ourselves to be the coyunda of the same blacks. If we renounce slavery, on the part of the whites, why we let the same blacks to come an enslave us through this political conjuncture (…), then, Sabas Casarán and others [Marino Viveros, Genaro Bonilla Perlaza, Valentín Moreno] said who is this mister who comes as intrusive to alter the order of the day." (Interview. Hernán Rodríguez. Patia. 2015)[40].

[40] This speech is also in the Book Negritudes compiled by Valentin Moreno (1995, pp. 63–68).

After his presentation, Hernán Rodríguez left the event. He told me that his social project did not fit into what the Consejo Nacional was looking for. In contrast, Luis Enrique Mina Zape and other black socialist stayed and participated in upcoming encounters. Thus, the presence of black Marxists in regional and national encounters maintained this political dispute alive between black liberal and socialist under the liberal hegemony of Valentin Moreno's leadership until the second phase of the Consejo Naciona when Luis Enrique Mina Zape won the political dispute with Arquimedes Viveros' help.

We can also observe this tension between liberals and Marxists within the political principles of the Consejo Nacional. The first National Encounter produced a list of declarations. I summarize them in Table 10. These declarations reflect the tensions between black liberal and Marxist' political agendas. Declarations 3, 4 and 11 recognize the existence of racial discrimination or racism in Colombia. Racism is "undeclared, but created, fostered and sustained by the same system that, (...), feeds (...) conflicts that affect the opportunities of economic development of some while making it favorable for others." This definition proposes racism as a structure where the education system plays a critical role in perpetuating "economic conveniences that (...) puts an entire educational tree at your service, making it your guarantee of its safe control (...)." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 7–21). Defining racism as a key factor that builds unequal racial distribution of wealth between white-mestizos and blacks in Colombia corresponds more to black Marxists' than liberals' understanding of racism (Dawson, 2001) as declarations 6, 7, 10, 11 and 13 imply it.

Thus, this racial approach to the understanding of racial inequalities in Colombian suggests the social transformation of, or at least, radical changes in the Colombian economic and social structure, as declarations 2 and 6 manifest it (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 8). However, declaration 1 states something different that contradicts the above declarations. The Consejo Nacional is not a racist, isolationist or racial antagonist black organization. Quite the contrary, the Consejo Nacional aims to effectively integrate not only afrocolombians but also all Colombians. Now, this declaration suggests an integrationist racial project, not a radical and transformative one. This illustrates why the Consejo Nacional was worried about not being perceived as reverse racist as declaration 1 states it.

Table 10
10. First Nacional Encounter's Declaration

1. This is not a racist, or political, or isolationist organization, nor does it seek to awaken racial antagonisms. Quite the contrary, we aim at gaining effective instruments for the total integration of Colombians.
2. black man has already abandoned his ineffective role as a useful commodity for medieval merchants, and today, aware of his function not that as an object, but as a person, he rejects any slavish or subjugated activity.
3. The art of discriminative art spread by the [education] system is only an obvious reason of economic conveniences that (...) puts an entire educational tree at your service, making it your guarantee of its safe control (...).
4. In Colombia, racism exists undeclared, but created, fostered and sustained by the same system that, (...), feeds (...) conflicts that affect the opportunities in the economic development of some while making it favorable for others.
5. We are descendants of African nations; therefore, we must include in our education more information about our warm, beautiful and rich ancestor.
6. The black man belongs to an ethnic group that (...) is strong, and therefore, has an important mission that (...) is to promote, in one way or another, the total elimination of the exploitation of man by man.
7. The purpose of the ruling class (...) is to create new divisions within the people so that the principles of divide and reign will be fulfilled.
8. As one of the three national pillars that has most contributed to founding Colombian

nationality with its cultural heritage, blacks proclaim their identity in the fatherland that inhabit, demanding respect to their cultural values and rights.
9. We need to strengthen, through education (...), our own history, (...) values [and relations with our mother Africa] (...); an integral education will open the door that we have been closing at every step.
10. (...) the regions inhabited by the negritudes in Colombia (...) suffer from even the most basic things (...) where unhealthiness, communication, transportation, electric power, hunger, misery and ignorance are subhuman symbols of all these regions (...).
11. The situation of the department of Chocó (...) [presents] one of the lowest averages of life conditions not only in Colombia but in the world. (...) Palenque, in the Department of Bolívar, Buenaventura, in the Valley; Puerto Tejada, in Cauca; Tumaco, in Nariño, and many other national regions that, due to their skin color (pigmento-geográfico), suffer the same fate.
12. It is urgent, (...), to integrate these zones that have been systematically marginalized from national development, linking them (...) to production (...).
13. The Colombian state is, due to its political and economic structure, capitalist; therefore, it cannot protect other than capitalists. The black race has no economic power; therefore, it is not protected.
14 We care for [black] folklore to be an instrument of [black identity] affirmation of our national values and not for the de-personification when folklore has been used or is (…) used only as a useful (…) tourist attraction [or] (…) "rare things' of entertainment (…).

Table 10 also offers some elements that define the Consejo Nacional's idea of negritude. The declaration state that blacks are an ethnic group, descendants of the African nations and who proclaim a black identity. It says that being one of the three national pillars that has contributed to the formation of Colombian nationality with their cultural heritage and warm, beautiful and rich ancestors (declarations 5, 6, 7), blacks live in regions or zone systematically marginalized from national development -Chocó, Bolívar, Buenaventura, Valle del Cauca; Puerto Tejada, Tumaco, and Nariño- and with the lowest conditions of life not only in Colombia but in the world (declarations 10, 11 and 12). According to these declarations, the marginalization of afrocolombians in Colombia is due to blacks' skin color (declaration 11) and their lack of economic power (declaration 13).

Finally, the first national encounter incorporate education, as Manuel Zapata Olivella had proposed it in 1940s, as best strategy to strengthen our own history, cultural values and relations with our motherland Africa (declaration 9). Thus, the Consejo Nacional proposed a well detailed academic program that aimed to "produce knowledge about black culture as long as it reaffirms our values, investigates our ancestors, the spectrum of geography and history that support our identity, (…)." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 13). The academic program is divided into six courses or areas of study. Each course is composed by unites. Courses I and II cover East and West African History, religions, civilizations, forms of culture and social organizations, and the arrival of the Europeans; Course III includes Slave system, south African History and Nazism and Apartheid; Course IV includes the dividing of Africa, Colonization of Africa, and African Resistance; and Course V and IV includes African Emancipation and African Literature. The academic program also provides 37- bibliographical references (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 13).

Declaration 14 provides element to suggests that folklore as a cultural platform was already exhausted despite the intention of the Consejo Ncional to keep using it for the construction of black identity and culture. As I have showed in previous chapters (5 and 6), folklore became folklorized. That is, a rare thing of entertainment. Black liberal and Marxist share this critique against how black folklore has become in Colombian during the 70s. This folklorized version of black folklore de-personified black culture. It reduces black culture to music and dance. It did not represent the true values of the nation

and of the black communities. So, what the Consejo Nacional aims at folkloric expressions was to go beyond its folklorization.

The liberal negritude is, then, primarily an anti-racist project that considers the African heritage as crucial component of the black identity and cultural values, and by educating and affirming them, blacks would combat racism in Colombia and enjoy the unity, freedom, justice and equality that other ethnic nations of Colombian do, "here is the importance of why this will make us, knowingly, enjoy unity, freedom, justice and equality. We claim what belongs to us and, like the other ethnic nations that populate the earth, we must let others feel our demands as an inexorable right."(Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 11). This proclamation can be observed in the political agenda established by the Consejo Nacional. Table 11 shows all the actions and objectives the Consejo Nacional sought to fulfill. It was the liberal racial political agenda, the one that predominated in the first phase of the Consejo Nacional (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 12–13).

Table 11
11. Political Agenda

1. Reject any enslaving attitude (...) towards blacks 2. To claim the appointments for blacks in the national pyramid of opportunities and participation in major national decisions. 3. To proclaim black identity by demanding blacks' cultural values and respect for their rights 4. The regions or sub-regions inhabited by Colombian negritude cannot be marginalized by their skin color 5. We intend to investigate our problems from their roots - which are national problems, [too] (...). 6. We seek to make blacks aware of their blackness for the better use and realization of their own cultural values (... and) their ancestral origin (...). 7. To not continue being the useful instrument of politicians who have the black areas marginalized.

> 8. We look for folklore to be an instrument for the affirmation of our national values and not of de-personification (...).
> 9. We (...) pay attention to the organization of the large black masses in the different regions where they are located.
> 10. To include Indians, [and] workers who in one way or another have links with the marginalized within the cultural and economic development of the country.

As we keep analyzing this organization, the political tension, between black liberals and left, laid out contradictions in the Consejo Nacional´s political agenda and demands. Along the development of the encounters in Cali, Chocó, Medellin, Tumaco, Bogotá and Cartagena, both black liberal and Marxist proposed different interpretation about the economic, social, cultural and political exclusion-marginalization of afrocolombians.

-Regional Encounters

The mid 70s was very active on the part of the Consejo Nacional. In the first Nacional Encounter, it was accorded to develop new regional and national encounters. In fact, it seems that they could organize a great deal of regional committees and small informative collective (Celulas divulgadoras) in neighborhoods of Cali. There is a section in the book Negritude (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 27–50) named “Letters that come and go”. These letters describe encounters that were about to be held in towns such as in Jamundí, Guacarí, Puerto Tejada, Buenaventura, Quinamayo, and Robles between May 17 and July 26, 1975. Four objectives guided the creation of local committers. They wanted to (a) raise black consciousness looking for the unification, integration and development of the municipalities; to (b) identify the needs and study their solutions; to

(c) promote developmental projects that include blacks and non-blacks in their programs; to (d) recognize the cultural and economic situation [of] those residents.

Adelina Abadia Villegas told me that they "went from here in the Valley to the town that is between Cauca and Valle. We were going to talk to people and raise awareness, (…)." (Interview. Adelina Abadia Villegas. Cali. 2015). In each of these places, they left organized committees composed by local participants. Like Adelina Abadia Villegas, painter Herney Ocoro remembers,

> I met Ivan Forbes through Helcías Martán Góngora (…), it was a large group. As I repeat it, [with] these teachers of the Institute (IPC) participated and made a good team. Helcías visited the institute and we had meetings with these people, we had talks. The dynamic is that we meet in Cali and go to Buenaventura. There, there was a man named Cabezas and a very influential lawyer in the movement (…). In Buenaventura, we met in a place (…) at the Pascual de Andagolla school and other places. The theme that was handled was the grouping and what contribution we could make, what spaces we could win as blacks in a very technical way; (…). Manuel Zapata Olivella also accompanied us sometimes. (Interview. Hrney Ocoro. Cali, 2016).

With the creation of local committees, tensions between black socialist and liberals were activated again for the domination of the Consejo Nacional's political agenda. This time, the dispute was originated by the proposal to incorporate land struggles into the political agenda of the organization as Santiago Arboleda reports it,

> It is with these committees and from this region (…) when the issue of the agrarian problem appears and the loss of the territories [increased] by the development of the sugar mills; in the case of the Pacific, there is also the problem of the so-called 'empty lands', for which entitlement was requested to INCORA. This issue, although it is not developed as a central element within the movement, appears repeatedly in several meetings. It expanded basically in the

> West, with some attempts on the Caribbean coast; specifically, in Barranquilla and Cartagena, maintaining its epicenter [of dispute] in Cali, from where it was energized and most decisions were made. (Arboleda Q, 2016, p. 138).

In August 1975, the Consejo Nacional held the "III Encuentro Regional y I del Litorial Pacífico" (Third Regional Encounter and First of the Pacific Littoral) in Buenaventura. Valentin Moreno does not provide much information about the internal dynamic of this public event. They produced a list of the demands. Table 12 summarizes them. Every demand except 7 classifies as liberal. The other falls into the category of social demand. On the other hand, demand 7 represents one of the historical fights of the afrocolombians have struggled since the 40s when David Peña campaigned to protect fincas tradicionales and black peasants fought for their lands against sugar mills (de Friedemann, 1976; De Roux, 1991; Mina, 2011).

Table 12
12. List of Demands, Buenaventura

1. Equality of opportunities in (...) public and private education (...).
2. The establishment of schools, colleges and universities (...).
3 The creation of state industries in black twons (...).
4 Occupation and employment of blacks in prominent positions in companies, administration, offices and state banks (...).
5 [access] to military and aviation officers (...).
6 Establish means of development of massive and popular sports (...)
7 That the untitled lands occupied by blacks and non-blacks of scarce resources be titled to them by exercising the easy mechanisms available to them, Incora.
8 (...) admission to the faculties of medicine and engineering and [the elimination of] admission exams, interviews or presentation of income tax returns, (...).

By organizing local committees, it seems that the Consejo Nacional looked for projecting the organization towards the community, seeking its full development (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 165). However, Aldemar Saavedra, a former militant of the

Consejo Nacional at the time, may offer another reason. “Yes, we wanted to form a political movement with the negritudes and one of the intentions was to establish ourselves at the political level [and] at the national level.” (Interview. Aldemar Saavedra. Cali. 2015). In this sense, Consejo Nacional was conceived as black public sphere for political and electoral reasons. Indeed, in 1976, they created a specific organization with such purposes (see below). Like Aldemar Saavedra, former Soweto participant, Edgar Ruiz, told me,

> I was in several meetings with Valentin [Moreno] in Buenaventura. We were even at the [radio] station, (...); he tried to do a radio program of the negritudes that was the term for that moment; although, everyone knew his political aspirations and it was like a kind of platform for it, (...); [with the] program on a station, he did it, but to the extent that he was not having political dividends, I think his intentions were falling apart (…). (Interview. Edgar Ruiz. Pereira. 2016).

Thus, Consejo Nacional looked quite like traditional parties as Arboleda suggests it (Arboleda Q, 2016). However, I think that the above evidence allows another interpretation that does not exclude the latter critique. In my opinion, with the local, regional, and national encounters, Consejo Nacional brought something new to the black public by organizing black communities nationally, and by connecting local and rural with national and urban public spheres, needs and demands. I cannot disregard how the Consejo Nacional pursued and identified local and national problems that have historically affected black communities in Colombia. Therefore, the Consejo Nacional opened local, regional and national public spheres for black communities and individuals to express their own and perceived concerns in a way that no any other traditional party or group would have done at the time, not even at times of election, “The electoral

campaign that has just ended was intense, and we were not surprised to observe that (…) none of the candidates offered [to know] blacks' claims and needs and the areas they inhabit, (…). And who would explain to us for sure, why the groups (that are posed as an alternative), have failed in all of those sectors where blacks have come to constitute the majority.". As we will see below, these local, regional and national sites and forms of black politics were oriented and instrumentalized for political purposes.

-Second National Encounter of the Colombian Black Population

In 1976, the Consejo Nacioal held a significant number of encounters in several cities and towns of Colombia that resulted in the creation of two local Consejos in Guacari and Jamundi, and five regional Consejos of Cundinamarca, Valle, Antioquia, Cauca and Chocó. The latter held the Second Nacional Encounter of the Black Population that took place in Quibdó: this public event lasted two days (24 and 25). According to Valentin Moreno, 1500 delegates attended the Encounter. Also, "It should be noted that the participation in the meeting by the Chocoano people was very massive and within this participation is necessary to highlight the young students of the schools in the town, which provided valuable ideas and some concerns to the attendees." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 83–91).

So far, the idea of negritude "appears in the discourse as synonymous with black without any special ideological burden, connoting much more a collective reference that replaces that of black, almost as a discursive requirement of the moment, (…)."

(Arboleda Q, 2016, p. 137). However, in this National Encounter, participants debate the idea of Negritude. Members of Consejo Nacional gave six lectures on its definitions. For example, although, the book "Negritudes" does not specify any further information about the content of the papers presented and discussed in the encounter, their lectures' titles give some clues of what they discussed on Negritude. The titles of the lectures were: "The Ideology of the Negritude", "The Raising of consciousness of the black man in Colombia", "Socio-political and Cultural Situation of the Negro in Colombia", "Negritude and Historical Development", "The [Catholic] Church as an element of Racial Segregation" and "Education and Black Nationalism".

In this encounter, participants spent a lot of time discussing the racial formations in Colombia. First, the encounter declared, "The UN and in every national congress has condemned racism because it has not been scientifically proven that there is a superior race." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 89–91). Then, they expressed the relation between racism and the Colombian State, "In Colombia, it is evident that racism is not a mirage. Discrimination, racial prejudice are manifest forms of racism. Certain structural conditions make their development viable or they can also create the conditions of their end (...). There is in racism an inter-relation between discriminator and discriminated. The first has the power to oppress. By doing so through the State that is at your service, inculcate their values, ideas, moral, aesthetic expressions that are the anti-values of the oppressed." Finally, they understood racism in its connection to class. They expressed that the undeclared discrimination take two forms against black people in Colombia. The first takes form by blacks' social class enemy and by their own social class". The second

is classist and takes form by the class marginalization of the immense majority of the black population more than any other ethnic group in the country."(Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 83–91).

2. Movimiento de las Negritudes y el Mestizaje de Colombia

In 1977, the Consejo Nacional gave birth to its political party, "Movimiento de Negritudes y Mestizaje de Colombia" (the Negritude and Mestizaje Movement of Colombia). With this black political party, Consejo Nacional sought to fulfill all the initiatives discussed and debated in previous encounters. In March 1977, Consejo Nacional held "El Congreso de Negritudes Colombianas" (the Colombian Negritude Congress) in Medellin. In this encounter, afrocolombians considered that although black consciousness raising was crucial for the development of the black people, they also considered that political participation should be the way by which afrocolombians' needs and demands must be fulfilled,

> "We estimate that being a priority the acculturation of the negritude as long as it allows the training of people for decent and efficient performances in any area of knowledge, it is not the solution to end [racial] discrimination, [it is] the power of political and economic that blacks could agglutinate in their favor. (...) With this conviction, we base the negritude and mestizo movement of Colombia, representative of the political branch of the Consejo Nacional that seeks to become a force of power for the proposed objectives against social injustice and equal opportunities for all compatriots." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 94).

The creation of the black political party "Movimiento de Negritudes y Mestizaje de Colombia" marked the political turn that the Consejo Nacional took toward liberal

political oriented actions since the encounter in Medellin. My impression is that from this point on, the collective action of the Consejo Nacional would be marked by their political and electoral campaigns not only for the presidency of Colombia, as some scholars suggest (Wabgou et al., 2012), but also for the local and regional public offices and corporations,

> "We went to the neighborhoods and left constituted committees, (...) We went to [neighborhoods like] María Mallarino, August 7, La Floresta, El Hormiguero, El Popular; there, we created committees and, for example, we left [someone] who organizes, when they had something, we would go back. We told them why we had to organize the blacks to participate in decisions of the state. We hoped that someone would push. We wanted to have grassroots work to do politics." (Interview. Adelina Abadia Villegas. Cali. 2015).

In the National encounter held in Medellin, the Consejo Nacional announced the agreement to support the political candidacy of Juan Zapata Olivella for the presidency of Colombia, 1978-1982. They considered that this political agreement was a great step forward for "blacks to show their ability and (…) talent [and] their values as these have been reduced to folklore and sport for being the only paths that have been provided, precisely because they are the occupations that have served and served to entertain the masters of the era of the creole obscurantism." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 94).

In fact, the "Movimiento de Negritudes y Mestizaje de Colombia" was created for such as political purpose. They saw politics not only as way to de-folklorize blackness, but also as a mean to overcome racial institutional discrimination in Colombia. In this sense, Movimiento de Negritudes y Mestizaje de Colombia must be understood as a search for self-political representation: "For the Colombian black population, (...), to end

discrimination, it must become a strong political party and present itself with its own electoral lists to elect its own spokespersons. It is the party of the Negritudes and the Mestizaje of Colombia." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 252–253). Then, voting for their own black candidacy meant both the increasing of black autonomy and a form of racial struggle against institutional racism,

> "The instrument of self-defense is the vote. The same we give for those who discriminate against us so that they reach the collegiate bodies, the ministries, the embassies, the governments, the decentralized institutes in the name of a party that they manage and parcel out when their interests are in danger, from which they apply the marginalization for the blacks and the disdain for their people." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 252–253).

The Third National Encounter was held in Cartagena, 1977. This encounter occurred when the sibling Zapata Olivella were holding several preparatory conferences for the First Congress of the Black culture in the Americas. The meeting revolved around politics and political campaigns. In this encounter, presidential candidacy of Juan Zapata Olivella was ratified; they planned regional political campaigns; the raising of consciousness among mestizos, mulattoes, and blacks; they discussed the socio-political and cultural situations of the black population in Colombia; Negritudes and social development; Education and black nationalism; Programmatic for the welfare of all Colombians; and, for the first time, there was a reference dedicated to the black woman, The black woman and her historical destiny (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 99).

In the encounters, there is a reference dedicated to black women. In the minutes of the event, reference is ambiguous. First, the attendees recognized the historical role of the

black women in maintaining black families, their attitude to collaborate and help and their capacity to serve; “Respect and consideration for the black woman who preserves the luster in the homes and breastfeeds with her diligent behavior to those who require them without other than to serve and earn a few pesos for their holiday recreations in the town where they were born and return for holiday” (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 80). I think that this recognition has nothing to do with black feminism. In my opinion, it reinforces gender stereotypes since this recognizes the crucial role of the black women preserving black families; but it did not acknowledge the role of black women organizing and fighting side by side with black men for the rights of the black communities. Indeed, this recognition of the role of black women emphasizes on their willingness to serve not to fight, which has been one of the struggles black feminist have fought for. The other reference states, “Women should share the conduction of the state on a plane of equality with men and should have prenatal, natal and postnatal maternity services.”(Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 154). This statement contrast the first because this situate black women with equal right with men. This contrast may tell us about disputes between black women and men. Yet, I could not find more information about this.

Symbolic connections to the afrodiasporic world was a very permanent position throughout the local, regional and national encounters. Since the First National Encounter in Cali, their participants understood black culture in its relations to Africa (ethnic groups, cultures and history), slave system, colonialism and racism which are the pivotal points of the negritude discourses, “The culture of the American black has its origin in Mother Africa. It goes many years back to the history of black Africa. It should be noted

that the manifestations of the black African-American have been disqualified or underestimated by the Ibero-American culture."(Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 86). Like in the first Congress of black culture, we can observe how attendees defined black identity as the identity of the African descendants in the America. Thus, this African diaspora perspective is not only crucial for the definition of the black cultural identity in the American Continent (south and north) but also for the definition of what black studies (Catedra de la Cultura Negra), universities, schools and libraries should be like and covering in their programs (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 86).

In the last National Encounters in Medellin and Cartagena, participants not only expressed their relationship with the motherland Africa but also raised their voices against new form of colonialism in Africa. Like years ago, in the dia del Negro public event, participants demand an independent and free Africa. They declared, "The negritude movement advocates for the independence and sovereignty of the peoples (pueblos), rejects all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism (…). We condemn the criminal and racist policies of the governments of South Africa and Rhodesia and express our solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea in their struggle for a homeland free of racists and exploiters." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 87). This proclamation for the independence and freedom of Africa includes a recrimination against the Colombian government since it did not establish any diplomatic relations with any countries in Africa.

3. A Popular Black Presidential Candidacy

The *Movimiento de las Negritudes y el Mestizaje de Colombia* was thought as a political party for the black population. They developed a form of populism that attempted to use the anti-black sentiment predominantly in Colombia to catapult their political agenda, "a black [person] cannot be represented by someone who discriminates against him. (...). Our blackness [is] taken and is still taken as an offense." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 132). Here, populism is instrumental. The party used its black social bases for political and electoral purposes; but not for social and political process of organization. However, this populism cannot be reduced exclusively to a form of black populism. Since its beginning, the Consejo Nacional leaderships were worried about being perceived as anti-white and mestizo racist. They declared the organization as being the opposite of it, they aimed at "gaining effective instruments for the total integration of Colombians." (declaration 1, table 10). Also, they proposed to articulate those marginalized groups (indigenous and workers) who share the exclusion of the economic development of the country.

Due to the ideology of mestizaje, that denies the existence of racism in Colombia, the political games (strategies, political allies and gaining electorates), and the predominant class discourses, this populism presents many contradictions, it projects itself as racially inclusive. It was a black political expression, led by black leaders who affirmed their black identity and culture as descendant from the African continent and whose political agenda sought to improve the economic conditions of afrocolombians; yet, they claimed to be racially inclusive; an alternative force different from those that discriminate afrocolombians (the left, liberal and conservatives). Thus, they ended up

projecting the Consejo Nacional as a populist class project leaving aside their anti-racist project, although it makes references to black skin colors as the above quote or the name of the political movement expresses it, “The Negritudes and Mestizaje Movement of Colombia”: “it was later we added (...) mestizaje (...) giving [spaces to] the others, (…).” (Interview. Adelina Abadia Villegas. Cali. 2015). This contradiction would be present during the political campaigns.

Juan Zapata Olivella was the presidential candidate of the Movimiento de las Negritudes y el Mestizaje de Colombia. He was a poet, writer, musician, politician and ambassador (Caicedo, 2013). His philosophical and political thoughts were liberal, and he cultivated good relationships with well-known white-mestizo leaders of the liberal party such as presidents Lopez Michelsen and Llerras Camargo. As Ángel Romero reported in 1975, (Newspaper. El Tiempo, 1975), when the Consejo Nacional announced their support to the Juan Zapata Olivella’s presidential candidacy in 1977, he had already created a political party called “La llave”, with Juan C. Arango Álvarez; political party with which Juan Zapata Olivella held public offices in Cartagena, “Zapata Olivella is a popular liberal leader from Cartagena and several years ago, along with another prominent politician, Juan C. Arango Álvarez, formed a movement that they called “La llave”, which led them to the municipal.” (Newspaper. El Tiempo, 1975). According to this newspaper reporter, the circumstances that led to proclaim Juan Zapata Olivella as a presidential candidate in 1975 were not political party dynamics.

In a cultural event, when political and artistic personalities such as mulattos Adán

Arriaga Andrade, and Carlos Calderón Mosquera, and black Daniel Valois Arce from Chocó alongside with liberal light mulatto politician Otto Morales Benítez and black artist Jorge Artel, joint to attend a poetic recital offered and played by Juan Zapata Olivella in Getsemaní, a black and mulatto neighborhood at the time in Cartagena. Accordingly, suddenly in the middle of the recital, somebody said loudly, "¡A la carga con la candidatura negra! (let's launch a black candidacy) ¿A quién lanzamos? (who can be that person?)" (…)" (Angel Romero. Newspaper, El Tiempo, 1975). After several proposals, one attendee proposed Juan Zapata Olivella,

> "At the end of the recital, there was cheers and applauses for the poet, for the democracy, for the blackness and mestizaje. It occurred to someone to say that the "spectrum of presidential candidacies" proposed by former president Carlos Lleras Restrepo was open. Otoniel Zuñiga, a white man who attended the event, shouted: "eche, (…) here we have the candidate, Juan Zapata Olivella". The attendees applauded, and then welcomed this name. Subsequently, prominent writers of the country have mentioned the issue of black candidacy." (Angel Romero. Newspaper, El Tiempo, 1975).

Angel Romero affirms that the persons who proposed Juan Zapata Ollivella was white, whose name is Otoniel Zuñiga. Nonetheless, Juan Zapata Ollivella himself states, "Suddenly within the multitude, a black muscular person, bragging about his boxing skills, stood up firmly without fear, and said in a resounding voice: "Sorry my interruption but I want to propose to launch a candidature of ours, a black candidature, and suggested to the people the name of Juan Zapata Olivella." (J. Zapata Olivella, 1985, pp. 6–7).

When Juan Zapata Olivella's presidential candidacy was promoted as part of the political strategy of the Consejo Nacional de la Poblacion Negra de Colombia, and when

the latter created its political party named “Movimiento de las Negritudes y el Mestizaje de Colombia”, it was also a political articulation of two of the black projects of the negritude running within liberalism at the time. One was the liberal and reformist version of the Negritude led by the Consejo Nacional, and the mestizo version of the Negritude, led by the siblings Zapata Olivella since the 1940s. Then, the sibling Zapata Olivella, Juan Zapata Olivella’s political group, La Llave and Consejo Nacional joined together to launch, for the first time, what they called the Black Candidacy for the presidency of Colombia. Like the experience of the blacks in the left, negritude came to be the articulation of a liberal understanding of class (populism), black culture and Politics in the black presidential candidacy. So, this conveyed many contradictions that intertwined mestizaje, blackness and a folklorized version of black folklore.

Since the beginning in Cartagena, Juan Zapata Olivella included black cultural expressions in his political campaign. Negrista poems and black folkloric dances and music took part on this. In the above recital, he performed and recited black poems written by famous afrodiasporic poets such as Nicolas Guillen, Jorge Artel and Helcías Martán Góngora .” (J. Zapata Olivella, 1985, pp. 6–7), suggesting not only the presence of black culture -he recited the poem “La Cumbia” of Jorge Artel-, but also the presence of afrodiasporic cultural expressions (poems of Nicolas Guillen). Likewise, in the third Black National Encounter in Cartagena, there was an “extraordinary cultural artistic program in charge of the ballet of Delia [Zapata Olivella], the [musical] Orchestra of the [light mulatto] Crescencio Camacho, the Trio [musical] the Académicos and numerous artists, singers, declaimers and theater actors.” (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 95–100). On

another note, the national newspaper “El tiempo” reports in his section “Actividad Politica”,

> In Montería, an homage was paid to the candidate of the “Negritudes and Mestizaje”. Juan Zapata Olivella, on the release of a long-playing album with his own compositions that will serve to publicize his presidential campaign. The event was held last night at the Hotel Sinú, precisely on the eve of the Day of the Race. Attendees were personalities from the coast and political leaders who sympathize with Zapata Olivella. (Newspaper, El Tiempo, 1977, P 15a).

In this sense, Juan Zapata Olivella composed a poem “El Negro Sale a Vota” (The Black go out to Vote) of which I reproduce a small fragment just to show how references to skin color, black cultural expressions and politics meet in this black poem:

> ¡Qué contento el negro está!
> ¡Es que por primera vez sale a votá!
> Queremos escuelas,
> queremos salud,
> queremos un techo,
> queremos carne, huevos, pescado,
> frutas y verduras pá la ensalá
> ¿Y quién te las va a dá?
> (…)
> “No es na, de otro mundo, ni na’ de la ciencia:
> Hay candidato negro pa’ la Presidencia!...
>
> ¡How happy the black is!
> ¡It is because for the first time black goes out to vote!
> We want schools
> we want health,
> we want a roof,
> we want meat, eggs, fish
> fruits and vegetables for the salad
> And who is going to give them to you?
> (...)
> “It is not a thing from another world, nor it is a thing of science”
> ¡There is a black candidate for the Presidency! ...

The slogan, campaign phrases and political advertisement strategy of the black presidential campaign also involved explicit references to skin color and black race, which suggest their initial intension to capture black electorates. For example,

> "Black: ¡Defend yourself and defend your race! Join the Movement of the Negritudes for an equal Colombia! ¡Do not sell your black brother or deliver him with your vote to the executioners of your race, to those who discriminate against us, underestimate us and despise us for being black"! (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 133) (133).
>
> !Put color to your Vote!
> !Each vote is a Winning Vote!
> (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 95–96)

As the reader can observe, the campaign slogans invoke a form of black nationalism around black skin color that is supposed to go beyond class, gender, sexual, geographic and political differences. They asked themselves,

> "Who are the owners of the liberal party?
> The non-blacks who have denied the Negro his rights of equality in all fields of opportunities and who treat them worse than irrational animals."
> "Who are the owners of the conservative party?
> The non-blacks who have denied the black the same rights and opportunities that the non-black liberals deny blacks by selfishness and discrimination. And it is that the non-black liberals and conservatives are one. They are all the same slavers. The descendants of those who enslaved our grandparents (...)." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 131).

The black presidential campaign received a lot of media attention. Local and national newspapers reported it as the event of the year. For the media, this was a racially defined political campaign to the extent that they refer to it as "Los Negros quieren el poder" (blacks want the power) (Newspaper. El Pais. 1977:9). For example, in 1975, the

national newspaper “El Tiempo” published the black candidacy in its cover page as follows, “Black Candidacy to the presidency”. Angel Romero, opens the news with the following words,

> For the first time in the history of the country, Colombian blacks, who are close to 7 million, will have a presidential candidate of their race, to dispute power in the 1978 general election.” (...). The candidacy of the Colombian Negritudes and Mestizaje corresponds to a need engendered by inequalities in a society that has failed to distribute neither wealth nor culture with minimum justice. (Newspaper. Angel Romero El Tiempo, 1975).

A local newspaper in Cali, “El Pais”, reports,

> To those who promise and do nothing, the candidacy of color in Colombia would adjust to develop the most important points of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (...), and proclaiming for all peoples a standard of living sufficient for health, welfare, social security. (Newspaper. El Pais. 1977).

It seems, and I believe, that the black candidacy news received international attention. I could not find international newspapers reporting the black presidential campaign. However, “El Tiempo” newspaper reproduced a piece of interview where Juan Zapata Olivella states,

I have been asked in Panama, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico and the USA both its origins and the objectives of the black candidacy, and I have stated that it emerged as an imperative nation of the have not (las pobrecias), which in addition to its secular stagnation, they remain outside of the welfare, culture, and everything that represents the enjoyment of a life without economic and spiritual agonies. (Newspaper. El tiempo. 1977).

Despite the obvious fact that this presidential campaign was clearly racialized from the media outlets and from the leadership of the Movimiento de las Negritudes y el Mestizaje de Colombia (both sides called it black candidacy), the message and discourse of the black candidacy changed when the Consejo Nacional was accused of reverse racism. Then, the candidacy was not just black candidacy. This was more about a candidacy that merged from popular extractions, without hatred, rancor against any Colombian and commitments that prevent him from governing the nation,

> As it is a matter of a popular candidate, it is diaphanous the possibility that the candidate of Negritudes and Mestizaje reaches the majority. It is a candidate from popular extraction, without hatred, without commitments that prevent him from governing the nation and without rancors against any Colombian, all of which guarantees the equality of rights and opportunities that the people demand, as a solution of the social insecurity that annihilates us." (Newspaper. *EL PUEBLO,* 1977).

We can see how the discourse changes. It went from being a black to a popular candidacy in many of the public interventions. In the newspaper, El Tiempo, Juan Zapata Olivella refers to his presidential campaign as "a great movement of the popular masses that has much to do for the needs of the people." (Newspaper. El Tiempo, 1977, P 5a). Another member of the movement, Carlos A. Vallecilla also affirms,

> Consequently, [the candidacy] has the backing of this Consejo Nacional and it is worth saying that it has had a wide reception in all the departments of the Atlantic Coast, including among its supporters a considerable number of whites as well as blacks, mestizos and Indians. (Newspaper, EL PAIS. 1977, pp 9).

The following piece of an interview given to "EL Tiempo" by Juan Zapata

Olivella, we can observe how he replaced black for the word poor which includes blacks, Indians and mestizo poor: “All the poor of the country feel identified with us because they are part of ourselves. [and] We will combat the backwardness and give opportunities to create a more egalitarian Colombian community.” (Newspaper. El Tiempo, 1977, P 5a).

We need to understand that the sense of racial inclusiveness was the result of the racial dynamic in Colombia. As Juan Zapata Olivella implies, they endured the idea of mestizaje and inclusiveness to respond those critiques and attacks: “Those who attack us, pointing out that we are promoting the class struggle and racial confrontation are those who have done nothing for having a more balanced society.” (Newspaper. El Tiempo, 1977, P 5a). It seems to me that for a black politician to campaign for any public office in a racialized predominantly white or mestizo environment, it must be hard to win an election based on a strategy that uses blackness. This is not the first time that something like this happens in Colombia (Agudelo, 2005). Black candidates seem to be forced to change their strategies otherwise they may be accused of reverse racist or lose. It seems more strategically adequate to launch a political campaign using a popular discourse than a racial discourse[41]. On the other hand, declarations like the above, raised some doubts and questions within the Consejo Nacional; specially, among those radical sectors led by the lawyer Perlaza (Arboleda Q, 2016). Accordingly, Juan Zapata Olivella was critiqued because “his inclinations towards an “exaggerated” consideration of Mestizaje and his

[41] Barack Obama must be another example of this conundrum. His presidential candidacy was inclusive of all racial groups in the United States. That is, he did no campaign exclusively for African American. His political campaign, as I remember, tried to reach several racial groups with his slogan, yes, we can.

declarations in the media denied and ignored racial discrimination, trying not to be radical and avoiding being accused of racism." (Arboleda Q, 2016, p. 140).

The presidency of Colombia was not the only political campaign that Consejo Nacional ran in 1978. In my fieldwork, I found out that out of the candidates enlisted to run for public offices, there were five (5) black candidates of the Movimiento de las Negritudes y Mestizaje. All of them were enlisted as candidates for public offices in the Valle del Cauca. There were: for Senate, Adelina Abadía Villegas; for house of representative Valentín Moreno Salazar; regional Asamblea, Alfonso Casasierra, and for the city Concejo, Oscar García and Antonio Zapata Olivella. (Newspaper. El Tiempo, 1978, p. 1a and 6a). On the other hand, I talked to Engelberto Diaz. He was a black dancer for Teofilo Potes's folkloric groups at the end of the 70s, and then he became politician who created a short-lived political party group in Buenaventura around mid 70s. "La OLA", which sought to break the clientele relationship between the black electorate and the traditional parties in the context of the National Front (see Agudelo, 2005). He told me that around 78, Valentin Moreno proposed him to be a candidate of the Negritudes and Mestizaje party. He states,

> "Valentín Moreno was Chocoano and he convinced Adelina [Abadia Villegas] and she got in and told me, but that came down very quickly. That was after the OLA in 78, I participated with them in Buenaventura and they gave me to be a candidate for something and I accepted it, (...) I accepted it especially for Adelina who has been an honest and simple woman without second intentions (...), it was a very personal thing with Adelina to accepted to be a candidate, but it was very brief." (Interview. Engelberto Diaz. Cali. 2016).

4. The Sellout of the Black Candidacy and The Black Political

Disappointment

I would argue that Consejo Nacional and its political party, Movimiento de las Negritudes y el Mestizaje de Colombia, reached their peak around the time of the political elections. They launched black candidates for the presidency of Colombia and local and regional public offices, Senate, House of representative, etc. The political expectations were high. Everybody, supporters and detractors, kept an eye on the black presidential candidate, specially. I agree with Wabgou et al., (2012) when they sustain,

> The relevance and meaning of this political conjuncture are also appreciated by the symbolic value of this candidacy, since (a) it breaks with the negative ideas and attitudes generally conceived and adopted towards the black people of this country and (b) arouses an unprecedented hopeful enthusiasm among the country's black communities, despite their limitations and vicissitudes. (Wabgou et al., 2012, p. 109).

The presence of Juan Zapata Olivella, as black candidate in the public, showed, and it might contribute to break, stereotypical images of blacks reduced to folklore, sports, and backwardness. Although with racist language, the media coverages were "forced" to present him as doctor, poet and writer of his race. In other words, as black intellectual.

However, everything changed. First, Juan Zapata Olivella added his presidential candidacy to that of the white liberal candidate Carlos Lleras Restrepo. On February 12, national newspaper, "El Espectador", published an article that states, "With his flags of 'negritudes' (…), the pediatrician and nutritionist Juan Zapata Olivella went to join the electoral cause of Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo. In fact, he put new impulse to his

aspirations to the presidency of the Colombian Republic (…)."(Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 140). In another part, Juan Zapata Olivella states, "My alliance with the llerismo popular of Bolivar obey to very serious considerations. Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo, incarnates in the current moments the statesman who proposes to make a society more egalitarian, less unbalanced, more just without atavistic and obsolete discriminations in the world of today." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, p. 144).

This was a devastated moment for the black communities in Colombia. It was bad for the movement that Juan Zapata Olivella joined the liberal candidacy of Carlos Lleras Restrepo. It ended up corresponding the critiques that argue that the black candidacy was folkloric and not serious. For the Consejo Nacional, the decision of Juan Zapata Olivella to join Carlos Lleras Restrepo's candidacy produced a crisis that somehow determined its end years later. As Arboleda (2016) states, the effects were devastating to such an extent that the movement was fragmented and could not recover. Things became worst and worst for the Consejo Nacional. Black candidates were not elected for any of the public offices they campaigned for. On what seems to be a reflection on the part of Valentin Moreno in subsequent encounters, he expresses, "In the year 1978 we had achieved more than fifteen thousand votes that were canceled because of the same members of the lists who, out of pessimism, did not want to take possession and give the oath of law for the viability of the election. To give life to Negritudes and Mestizaje, I took their leadership again. I organized the plenum that took place in Bogotá in June of the last year (…)." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 238–240).

Although year later, Valentin Moreno would be elected as consejal in Condoto, Chocó, they never recovered from what Juan Zapata Olivella did. This destroyed the few credibility of the Consejo Nacional had built previously. What the black candidate did was perceived as treason. It fed perfectly the perception of the Consejo Nacional as clientele network whose projects seek individual benefits: "Valentín Moreno and (Juan) Zapata Olivella just had that [political] line, (...); for them it was simply to reach the bureaucratic positions of the state [and] with that the problem of discrimination in Colombia was solved and that was a lie." (Interview. Edgar Ruiz. Pereira. 2016). After this,

> (…) we found Valentin developing some attempts of organizational re-articulation, but without any stability, (…); he was also perceived as an autocrat who wanted to be an eternal in the presidency of the Consejo Nacional and, ultimately, as an individual who wanted to appropriate individually of collective efforts. This goes until 1984, making alliances with liberals and conservatives and asking each government for participation, without having any concrete response and, on the contrary, being ridiculed by the political sectors of the country. (Arboleda Q, 2016, p. 140).

This ended up increasing political disputes and accusations of corruption and clientelism within the organization. Between 1983 and 1984, the internal struggle would end with Luis Enrique Dinas Zape as the leader of the Consejo Nacional. This leadership gave it a more black and popular orientation, "Valentín Moreno said Negritudes and Mestizaje, I bet for black alone." (Interview. Luis Enrique Dinas Zape. Cali, 2015).

CHAPTER 8
DE-SUBJUGATING BLACK CULTURE AND BLACK IDENTITY

In this chapter I analyze the final site and form of black politics of the dissertation. I call it de-subjugating black culture and black identity. Out of the four, this is the black public sphere that assumed a radical perspective of the negritude. Here, I focus on its emergence, organizational structure and political agenda. I will start by examining the type of relations and organizations this project was mobilized. Then, I analyze tow concepts that define this anti-racist project. There are: a. avasallamiento cultural; and b. des-avasallamiento cultural; and, finally, I examine how this anti-racist agenda was made public.

1. Centro para la Investigación de la Cultura Negra en Colombia A Black Cultural Movement

Born in Chocó, Amir Smith Cordoba is the well-known figure of the organization that led this project, the Centro para la Investigación de la Cultura Negra en Colombia - CICUN (Center for the Study of Black Culture in Colombia). Like other site and forms of black politics at the time, CICUN began within the cultural and academic dynamic of the afrodiasporic public sphere "Joven Internacional" in Bogotá. He had recently come from the United States. Interviewees and scholars (Agudelo, 2005; Castillo G., 2007; Wade, 1995) concur that he was part of the Black Panther Party. Like Soweto, afrocolombian students in Popayan, and "El Frente Amplio por la Liberacion del Negro Colombiano" in Cali, Amir Smith Cordoba marked a new radical understanding of negritude in Colombia. In fact, Leonor Mirillo's testimonies is key to my point. She is a former participant of the CICUN coming from the experience of the black folklore in Chocó. She is sister of one of the most important black woman music composer and signer Zully Morrilo and black

musician and choreographer Nicolas Murillo. Throughout our conversation, we can observe different moments in which her black radical consciousness raised. This trajectory started with her participation in the black politic of folklore:

> -Carlos Valderrama: (..) when you danced or did research, did you articulate a racial discourse, didn't you?
> -Leonor Murillo: We were more than anything (...) folklore, show it and we were proud of that, of our roots, that, strengthening us, (...)
> -Carlos Valderrama: Yes, but was that the same as knowing about black history?
> -Leonor Murillo: No, and it came from the dacimas (Palenque Literario) which we listened to (...), it says, for I who am ignorant, it is necessary to ask, if color white is virtue, so that I can whiten myself. There. It (the decima) starts to say everything about the black (…); or rather, oneself goes to discover little things through time. (…) When you grow, it (Palenque Literario) takes value and meaning; and when Amir Smith arrives, everything is reaffirmed (...) of what we had; [then] we had (...) that we were slaves, who had been liberated; but nobody never told us that we had fought with Simón Bolívar; they tell us that from Haiti people came to help (in the independence of Colombia) but they do not tell us that they were black. Do you understand me? A lot of things, and there you start talking and you realize many things. He [Amir Smith Cordoba] starts to question us, and it was like someone opens their eyes, ah no, but that's what it is! if you know what I mean? He starts bringing us book of black leaders. And I, for example, heard about South Africa, but I ... did not pay attention to it, we did not have that conscience until we realized how reality is. Everything that was happening there, all the blacks got killed and their culture got destroyed; (…) we did not know that! (Interview. Leonor Murillo. San Andres. 2015).

The dialogue is very illustrative about how Palenque Literario has been a rich source of libertarian thoughts. And, its permanent influence in the black social movements. The decima that Leonor Mirillo refers to is attributed to the chocoano leader and politician Saturio Valencia[42]. According to Wade (1993), this decima was a satire that deal with "the arrogance of white pretensions to superiority." (Wade, 1993, pp. 110–111). The point that I want to make here is that afrocolombians have been aware of the

[42] The reader can see the entire decima in Miguel Caicedo (1973) and traduced in Wade (1993, pp. 110–111).

racial inequality in Colombian since always. Palenque Literario is one example of it. The quotidian social interactions between whites and blacks have been another (chapter 3 and 4). These sources and the desire to find backups of their arguments against racial inequality in Colombia, its mestizo project that denies racism. So far, we have observed how the African diaspora struggles provide the discursive elements to support and give name of the racial inequality in Colombia. Negritude was one of them. And Amir Smith Cordoba was key in articulating this process, as it was the mestizo negritude project led by the siblings Zapata Olivella,

> Leonor Murillo: He (Amir Smith Cordoba) comes to tell us everything that had happened in the United States, what was happening, he talks about Martin Luther King. He is the one who begins to open our eyes when told us all about the United States, because we had no idea. At the time, movies start to come out, (…) [with black protagonist]
> Carlos Valderrama: how did you feel?
> Leonor Murillo: We felt in heaven, when there was a black protagonist. Never in the movies, they were servants, or whatever. (Interview. Leonor Murillo. San Andres. 2015).

Like many other site and form of black politics, Amir Smith Cordoba cultivated a black tertulia sphere. In this space converged with the web of relation and collaboration established by the siblings Zapata Olivella, relationships that despite their ideological differences both kept through their lives, and the afrodiasporic public sphere "Joven Internacional". According to Leonor Murillo, this space constituted another afrodiasporic public sphere in Bogotá where black students from Uganda and Haiti participated in alongside with afrocolombians:

> We already started to meet, even afrocolombians from Buenaventura, who were [the black] Muslims, come to the meetings. In the year of 1972, we even met in Bogotá, a group that came from Uganda (Africa); some guitarists; (…) were Dede

> Mayoro and Geoffrey, I do not remember his last name. (...), Amir Smith Cordoba is the one who contacts with them and I remember that there was also a group of ... Haitians who studied there. (Interview. Leonor Murillo. San Andres. 2015).

Amir Smith Cordoba participated in the first Nacional Encounter of the black population held in Cali in which he represented the delegations from Bogotá and became "vocal" of the Consejo Nacional. Later, he left both organizations, Joven Internacional and the Consejo Nacional, to create his own organization CICUN. In a recent study (Wabgou, et al., 2012), Amilcar Ayala states that they expelled Amir Smith Cordoba from the group (Joven Internacional), because, he did actions that raised concerns among Joven Internacional militants (Wabgou et al., 2012, p. 276). Amilcar Ayala does not specify what Amir Smith Cordoba exactly did. However, my interviewees always expressed that Amir Smith Cordoba was not "easy". He had a "complicated personality", without specifying what it means. Afrocolombian scholars such as Santiago Arboleda, Afredo Vanin and José Eulicer Mosquera Renteria suggest that his strong personality was due to his radical formation within the Black Panther Party movements.

Thus, his approach to the racial problem in Colombia was radically different. In fact, he used to stop afrocolombians on the streets and call them loudly "black, you are a black person, feel proud" which was very much unusual at the time. Then, what he brought to the black counterpublics in Colombia was a confrontational approach to the point that Wade (1995) states, "provoked hostile reactions from individuals" (Wade, 1995, p. 42). I guess what might have exasperated the Joven Internacional militants and got Amir Smith expelled was his radical approach. In any case, whatever the real reason was, Amir Smith Cordoba founded his own organization, the journal "Negritud", and the

newspaper “Presencia Negra”.

These strategic means of communication constituted the tools that CICUN deployed to make their political and philosophical thoughts public in Colombia. Although, the organization cultivated some elements found in the Consejo Nacional related to its “proselytist capacity, and his idea of strengthening nuclei in the localities and regions, while he dialogues in a dynamic and proactive way with the approaches of Manuel Zapata Olivella.” (Arboleda Q, 2016, p. 150). At some point, through the transpiring of the seminars and the newspapers, we can observe a more radical project getting distance from both previous projects; on the one hand, CICUN´s idea of the negritude was built exclusively on blackness, and, on the other hand, their racial project sought constantly to create process of racial and cultural identification autonomously from traditional party politics and leftist organizations.

CICUN was an intellectual black public sphere. It was a nonprofit and nongovernmental cultural organization that sought to study “(…) what has been the developing character of the Black Culture in Colombia, and, at the historical - geographical level, the contribution of the blacks in the construction of the national identity.” (Smith-Córdoba, 1977b, p. 25). Thus, CICUN was conceived as a black cultural movement. Their members used this expression to describe their cultural and academic activities. For example, Amir Smith Cordoba states,

> (...) about the Black Culture Movement is due to a slogan that embraces without exception all the blacks of Colombia, (...), not only of all the blacks that populate the country, but of all, without distinction of creed, race, origin, sex, etc.; that is, of all those who are predisposed to investigate an ancestor that has been

systematically distorted. (Smith-Córdoba, 1977b, p. 25).

We can see in the above quote how Amir Smith Cordoba evokes two of the three aspect of the afro diaspora. He defines blackness beyond the national boundaries of Colombia based on the *conditions* and the *project* to investigate our African ancestor (see Lao-Montes, 2007), which has been the predominant trends through liberal and mestizo negritude projects. In this sense, CICUN worked for relocating blackness out of the western cultural subjugation, that devalued blackness, by recovering and proposing black history, anthropology, geography and philosophy. According to one of the female members, Rosa Amelia Uribe, the reason of being a black cultural movement was,

> (...) to disseminate, represent and create a history, a geography, a philosophy, a founded anthropology etc., where the black occupies the place that really corresponds to him and not the place from which he has traditionally been shown. (Uribe, 1977, p. 29).

Although, Amir Smith Cordoba was its prominent figures, Leonor Murillo states, "we did not have a president or vice president and I do not know what or anything. Everybody (…) in those meetings were equal. (...) but, we were organized and we met and sometimes we did art, but it got lost." (Interview. Leonor Murillo. San Andres. 2015).

The Center's structure was, I would say, established basically on two dimensions. One formal in which Amir Smith Cordoba appeared as the president. And the other, informal. Like the siblings Zapata Olivella's web of relation and collaborations, CICUN was national network that included afrocolombians and a few white-mestizo intellectuals

and students in cities such as Cali, Bogota, Medellin, Quibdó, Cartagena, Barranquilla, San Andres, Puerto Tejada, Popayan, Buenaventura, and abroad. In opinion of one of the leaders of Cimarron, Juan de dios Mosquera, "Amir Smith Córdoba (…) begins to organize small groups in the regions of the country but he did not give them ideological lines, he did not feed them and they ended the small groups in a person who distributed the newspaper there in the region." (Interview. Juan de Dios Mosquera. Bogotá. 2015). This social network was structure in two circles. The first circle was people who were very close to Amir Smith Cordoba. They were Catagenero Santiago Pinto, Cristibal Valdelamar, Nino Caicedo, Rosa Amelia Uribe, Leonor Murillo, Gustabo Bush, Carlos Calderon, Dulcey Romero, and Doris García, among others. Of this circle, Santiago Pinto was more than a member. He and Amir Smith Cordoba were the organizers of the famous Cultural Seminar that CICUN held for several years, to form critical teachers in black history and culture (see below).

The second circle would be those collaborators that distributed the journal Negritud and the newspaper Presencia Negra in the regions and those who participated as panelists of the Cultural Seminar and conferences he organized. Then, "Amir Smith Cordoba had people where he sent the newspaper to, they distributed it and then when we did the seminars (…) those people attended; There was another African gentleman in Bogotá, N'dong Ondo Andeme (...)." (Phone call interview. Dulcey Romero. 2015). Although, black women's organizations and problematics would emerge with Cimarron during the 80s, "Most of the group were women, many left to Europe." (Nino Caicedo, 2015). Among them, I could identify Leonor Murillo, Luz Marian Borrero, Raquel

Kremnitzer, and Rosa Amelia Uribe.

There is not a concrete date when this organization disappeared. It occurred between the 90s and the 2000s. During this time, the center stopped programming and organizing public activities and Amir Smith was seen alone in public events. He became more and more isolated and radical in his arguments and political positions (Arboleda, 2016). He had gained a lot opponents and enemies everywhere. By 1991, CICUN lost regularity in their activities. CICUN became Amir Smith himself. Amir Smith died alone in 2003 and almost forgotten by his contemporaries (J. A. Caicedo, 2013).

2. Avasallamiento Cultural

I agree with Caicedo (2013) upon the significance of the term Avasallamiento Cultural (Cultural Subjugation) for Amir Smith Cordoba. Jose Caicedo proposes to understand avasallamiento cultural as a part of two key concepts that define what Amir Smith Cordoba called as the black des-personification or the des-personification of black personality, which is the loss of the *black peoplehood* (see below). Thus, avasallamiento Cultural "contains an interpretation of the structural consequences of racism in the ways of valuing black culture, seen as a phenomenon of internalization that made invisible the contribution of the African to the national culture." (Caicedo, 2013:491).

In this sense, I propose to understand avasallamiento cultural (Cultural Subjugation) as an analytical and political framework developed by CICUN members to

inform the particularities of the oppression of blacks in Colombia. In contrast, des-avasallamiento cultural (Cultural de-subjugation) must be understood as its opposite related side; a political black project for black liberation and de-colonization. Each contains aspects of the black life that either explain their racial and cultural oppression and/or racial liberation. Our understanding of both dimensions would be crucial not only to understand the complexity of this racial project but also to explain the type of concreate actions deployed by this organization. In my opinion, avasallamiento cultural is an intellectual and political category that refers to the cultural dimension of colonialism and/or imperialism in Colombia and Latin America.

It describes how "The West" have imposed a cultural model of norms, logics, aesthetics, values, ethics, principles, and cannons to their own imperial benefits, and at the expense of other civilizations; for instance, Africa and their afro diasporic communities, "The West created logics, aesthetics and ethics for their own well-being and service, so we must look at it and judge everything with their patterns. If it is imitated or everything that is produced conforms to the canons, rules, norms and 'good' principles (that according to the West) are acceptable." (Smith-Córdoba, 1977a). In this context, the West does not mean exclusively Europeans. The West are the white racial project that established a white cultural dominance and empire everywhere. The idea of the West includes white-mestizo people in Colombia who vindicated western civilization and culture at the discredits of other cultural civilizations such as Africa and indigenous. "if we "(…) reject, and [we do] not look like [the West] wants and expects us to see in others, it is bad because it denies the 'noble" purposes of the 'civilized' man." (Smith-

Córdoba, 1977a).

For Raquel Kremnitzer, avansallamiento cultural is the predominant ideology that wants for black people to look Europe as the mirror of progress and development:

> if for the prevailing ideology, the cultural transformation of the countries of the third world must look at the European mirror. That is, to accede to the pretended "civilization" or suffer forever its backwardness. In the bosom of the Afro-American population this implies that the option is to look at themselves through the mirror of the whites, imitate them or be like them, or remain subdued. (Kremnitzer, 1978, p. 11).

As the reader can observe, the form of culture imperialism is not reduced to culture. Avasallamiento cultural epitomizes a matrix of power that builds its hegemonic by articulating western understanding of culture, ideas of race, class and subjectivities. For example, for Raquel Kremnitzer (1977), "The white mystifier have told us: I am white and here is my identity: rather he said: I am white and here is my superiority."(Kremnitzer, 1977, p. 11). Here, race emerges through references of the skin color of its subjects as the above quote shows. In other words, skin color defines racial membership. So, according to CICUN members, black is a term coined by whites to maintain the white power, "Black is the result of a term coined by white to give security as such: I explain: black is because white, and white create it "precisely" what it is, for having created black." (Smith-Córdoba, 1977a). In another part, Kremnitzer (1977) associates the words whiteness, beauty, aesthetics, spiritual supremacy, intelligence, to critique its construction as superior civilization. She questions how western civilization has imposed a model through which everything must be filter:

> Whiteness, as a prototype of the beauty, in the field of aesthetics, and the spiritual supremacy in the field of intelligence, is one of the most primitive archetypes created by Western magic. A negative sign (…) crucified everything that was not white; to the black was attributed validity and legal status within the social context, (…), amendments or additions between lines, pertinent, to the white constitution. (Kremnitzer, 1977, p. 11)

To describe this racialized western imposition, CICUN members used repeatedly the term indilgación cultural. It is the ideological or discursive framework (myths, values, knowledge, stereotypes and aesthetics) through which everything is explained, understood and mobilized. Then, indilgación cultural determines what or who is superior or inferior or virtuoso or not: Subjugation that at the level of endilgación, has only served to fuel the stereotype of a "superior values" (Uribe, 1977, p. 29). But, how does it work? Indilgación cultural works by discrediting and disgracing everything related to black African culture and legacies: "who for many reasons comes to realize that he has been systematically disgraced, and discredited, and the price he has put up with is the legacy of the indilgación cultural for more than four centuries (...), is to break the formalism established by cultural superimposition."(Smith-Córdoba, 1978). For Rosa Amelia Uribe, indilgación cultural works by associating bad things to black people and virtuosity to whites:

> What has not been the concept of blackness the concept of the dirty, the ugly, etc; while white is synonymous with the beautiful and the good? But that is not free, that has its reason to be and it is that the black has never had a concept of himself produced by himself. The black has had a pre-conceptualized concept of himself that has been produced from above by the white man with his criterion markedly racist, discriminative and impositive (endilgative)."(Uribe, 1977, p. 29).

Then, for CICUN members, racial relation of power found its way through culture imperialism. The relationship between whites and blacks has been structured in cultural dominance: “Do you know what it means to show the world for 500 years black as devil? Let’s make clear and say: no black wants to be the devil.” (Smith-Córdoba, 1977b, pp. 25–26). Like David Theo Goldberg (1993) suggests, for CICUN members, race or skin color served, “and silently continues to sever, as a boundary constraint upon the applicability of moral principle” (Goldberg,1993:28). Racism, colonialism, and neocolonialism have found in culture the tools to systematically dominate and exploit the pueblo. Rosa Amelia Uribe puts it bluntly,

> In countries where the old classical colonialism has been replaced by modern colonialism (neocolonialism), the disappearance of racism is presumed, (...). At the level of culture, the consequences of that supposedly overcome racism, without losing sight of the fact that racism is no more than an element of a larger set: that of the oppression and systematic exploitation of a people. (Uribe, 1978, p. 27).

Avasallamiento Cultura was not exclusively about culture and race, it involved a class dimension and exploitation. Let me clarify first that the reference to class was scarce in the discourses of the CICUN members. The association of race, culture and class were not predominant. However, few members understood that black subordination in Colombia should be explained by associating racial domination, culture imposition and class exploitation. One of them were Rosa Amelia Uribe. She argues that black subordination can fully be comprehended if we consider the imbrication of culture, race and class exploitation,

> "We all know that the society divided into antagonistic classes, implies alienation and all kinds of subjection, among others, the cultural subjection by the exploiting class, then we cannot ignore that the black is the product of a double alignment because it is black has been exploited for being poor and, in addition, discriminated against for being black." (Uribe, 1977, p. 29).

Rosa Amelia Uribe articulates an analysis in which the subordination of blacks is understood as a part of two international and oppressive systems: the international white supremacy and capitalism. According to her, what usually happens is that people forget that capitalism by itself implies a third international system, racism:

> So, that racism could have been sclerosed by remaining immutable. On the contrary, racism has had to renew and nuance itself, change its physiognomy; in short, it could not escape the fate of the cultural settings of which it is an element. For it, when analyzing the existence of an open or disguised imperialism, it is incorrect (…) to try to ignore (…) the system of international white supremacy that is indissolubly linked to international capitalism, due to both seems to be together. But, it happens to be comfortably white to forget that every capitalist system automatically contains within itself racism (which can be vulgar or stylized) by deliberate intention or not, (…). (Uribe, 1978, p. 27).

The idea of white supremacy here means the western civilization, culture and descendants that has imposed oppressive framework to define the other. As we can observe in the above quote, white supremacy is a capitalist system that articulate class and racism to dominate culturally. We cannot understand, then, the social, cultural, political and economic condition of the black people in Colombia, without paying attention to the capitalist system and its white supremacist cultural impositions. To sum up, for CICUN members, avasallamiento cultural was an analytical and political category that refers to forms of cultural domination; a matrix of power relation that articulates cultural imposition, race and class exploitation to subjugate blacks in Colombia. As result

of this matrix of cultural domination, CINCUN members understood the psychological problems it produces within black communities. So, they proposed, what can be defined as a fanonian understanding of the mental oppression suffered by African descendants, a concept to explain the type of black subjectivity that has emerged through this processes of cultural domination and subjugation by the West.

The concept is "black de-personification". It means a systematic erasure of the African essences, the loss of the African peoplehood on the part of the African descendants, to impose on blacks' subjectivity the white and western cultural values, myth, knowledge and discourses that situate the former as inferior races and the latter as superior:

> From the remotest beginnings of the presence of the Negro in America as a slave, he was forced into a systematic elimination of de-personification that would allow the most unconditional subjugation as subject; from that angle, to judge everything bad (…) in exchange for "superior values" created by Western culture." (Smith-Córdoba, 1977b, pp. 25–26).

It seems that for CICUN members, des-personification means the result of the atrocities committed against African descendants, men and women, in the colonial period when colonizers discredited the African's peoplehood[43] to make them subjects. Thus, when the racial domination has been so markedly deep, blacks end up internalizing and assuming their own existences as an inferior race that must be at the serve of the whites. Here is how Raquel Kremnitzer interprets the process of black des-personification and the loss of the black peoplehood,

[43] See Wallerstein (1991).

> "When the discrimination is very marked, you are asked to be good, obedient, always smile and not to think; definitively and tacitly that you do not think. In this case, that black learns to be black means that he is aware that he is inferior and that he must therefore submit to the white."(Kremnitzer, 1978, p. 11).

Based on this approach to black des-personification, Amir Smith Córdoba reminds us that the process of blanqueamiento in Colombia cannot be understood fully without paying attention to this process of black subjugation. He states that if blacks feel attraction to certain values, behaviors and way of life, associated with whiteness and with western culture, it is because the West has taught them so; the west has taught blacks that in order to be a human being, blacks must behave, act and think like white people do (Smith-Córdoba, 1977b).

Amir Smith Cordoba even went further on this explication. He suggests a model of five identifiable phases through which black des-personification occurred. He called it, "Dispersión Congénita", (Congenital dispersion) (Smith-Córdoba, 1977b). The first phase can be called the Imposed Dispersion. It refers to separation of blacks from those who share a common language. The second phase can be described as Branding and Objectifying. It refers to how slaveholders and owners branded African descendants to objectify them as material possessions. The third phase is the Slave Labor. This phase refers to how the slaved labor denied and took off any possible human existence of life from African descendants. The fourth phase is the Slaves Foreman Tactic. Here, Amir Smith Cordoba proposes to consider how overseer slaves were used not only to oppress their own people but also to keep them divided. The last phase is the Infiltration Tactic. It

describes how slaveholders and owners used some enslaved to infiltrate Palenques cimarrones and to spy their military tactics and strategies. Therefore, the presence of self-dispersion, self-denigration and self-whitening within black communities is the direct effect of the avasallamiento cultural. In this sense, I can conclude that black des-personification is congenital because the mental subjugations of blacks have been the result of a long processes of power domination whose political, economic, social and cultural principles have used race, skin colors, as its foundation for cultural domination.

3. De-avasallamiento Cultural

If the West has mobilized a cultural imperialism to subjugate blacks, CICUN mobilized an anti-cultural colonial and anti-racist project for the black liberation in Colombia. Here, we can observe a Cesairean and fanonian construction of negritude that see culture as a tool for liberation (Arboleda Q, 2016; Caicedo, 2013; Fanon, 2004). Then "The concept of negritude seeks to rescue our cultural past as we are black men. (...). In other words, the task of rescuing our culture must be the indispensable condition for the acquisition of a liberating conscience." (Newspaper Presencia Negra. Dulcey Romero, 1981, p. 11-12).

That is why I call this project des-avasallamiento cultural (de-subjugating black culture); because, CICUN developed a politic of liberation by reaffirming their black culture and Identity: "what we were in those moments were ... learning or rediscovering ourselves as blacks. Because, we did not know the history of the Negro in reality as it

was but the ones that the history of Colombia had shown us here." (Interview. Leonor Murillo. San Andres, 2016). Here, the negritude discourses were fundamental to support for the des-avasallamiento cultural. As Amir Smith points out, negritude discourses are going to be the cultural and political tools for CICUN members to de-colonize black mentalities in Colombia,

> Negritude implies the decolonization of black thought, the one that will play a very important role and even more, in those sectors where blacks still aspire, desire and want to be white; precisely, it is a stage of transition what it is up to cover this concept in the social life of the Colombian people. (Smith-Córdoba, 1977c).

The idea of negritude means de-colonization and anti-racism. Negritude is "reunion of blacks with their own identity; it is an important and necessary passage that occurs and must be given socially, historically and culturally." (Smith-Córdoba, 1977c); negritude is "a historical reality that cannot be ignored" (Smith-Córdoba, 1978); it's to recover the historical reason of one race; it is to encounter with Africa (Smith-Córdoba, 1978); and negritude makes us alike." (Kremnitzer, 1977). In other words, negritude represents the passage through which afrocolombians become aware of their denied black peoplehood by affirming their race, African heritage and ancestries (African culture) as part of a complex historical process that gave rise to their own version of black culture and identity. In this sense, negritude was a racial political project historical and cultural necessary (Amir Smith Córdoba); "instrument to generate a liberating black awareness framed by the general context of the class struggle." (Newspaper Presencia Negra. Dulcey Romero, 1981, p. 11-12).

Although, it was not predominant, the idea of negritude associated with class struggle was not uncommon discourse elaborated by CICUN members. It was a subject of debate within the organizations and the social network of CICUN. Thus, the fact that some CICUN members brought up class struggle to the discussion, alongside black identity, means that the struggles of blacks were conceived as both race as well as class struggles. Negritude was a political and cultural discourse used not only to empower blacks in Colombia but also to affirm a cultural identity distinctions from mestizos and whites. CICUM members proposed project that came to dispute the racial representation that stereotype blackness. This conception of negritude helps to proclaim the existence of black cultural and blackness from a framework totally different from black politic of folklore:

> If culture is the manifestation of a national conscience ... national consciousness is the most elaborated form of culture. (Smith-Córdoba, 1978).
> You cannot talk (…) about development if you do not have man and culture as a basis. We cannot continue to affirm theoretically the man when in practice his culture is denied." (Uribe, 1977).

This philosophical maneuver was possible due to the afrodiasporic production of texts and writing of afrodiasporic intellectuals, from the Caribbean and the US, that circulated internationally and whose material were fundamental sources of discussions and debates to re-define values and contents of what the West have used to define blackness. Thus, two components can be acknowledged about the ways negritude discourses were fashioned by CICUN members. One component emphasizes a demystification of the West and its racial and cultural representation of the blacks. Once the West is exposed critically, the second component re-signified blackness by re-figuring Africa as part and roots of the black culture and identity in Colombia. With

Negritude, CICUN re-invented themselves as black pueblo, ethnic and racial group that have inherited a long historical tradition from African civilizations. In doing so, they developed strategies to affirm their blackness and to challenge the racial order in Colombia.

4. Affirming Blackness

Affirming blackness was the second component of what I call des-avasallamiento cultural (de-subjugating black culture); an anti-colonialist and anti-racist project developed in a practical agenda. Their plan of actions was academic and cultural oriented as they proposed to study blacks in relation to Africa and America (transculturation), their historical and geographical locations; and their current situation in Colombia. Table 13 summarizes the CICUN's objectives. In general, these objectives emphasize the promotion of black identity and culture; the struggle and denouncing of racism; the study of black history and culture; the organization of the black communities and the formation of black cadres; and the consolidation of African diaspora relation and solidarity.

These objectives found ways to the public. "the name, program and activities advanced through manifestos, seminars, publications and other forms of communication with the most vivid and profound desire to enter direct contact with our brothers and sympathizers of the black cultural movement, in the different latitudes of Colombia and of the outside." (Newspaper, Presencia Negra. Negritudes, 1979, p. 5a)

Table 13

13. CICUN's Objectives

General	Specific
a. To work for the awareness of the black identity and promote it.	a. The national organization of the black population.
b. To promote and propagate everything that must do with the knowledge and teaching of black culture.	b. To train cadres and guide groups and subgroups that dynamizes the movement.
c. To promote integration in the social, economic, political and cultural orders that move the country.	c. To impose as a task the study and research of the national problem.
d. To combat and denounce, by all possible means, any act of discrimination, racism or segregation that threatens the integrity of any ethnic group.	d. To promote through the different means of mass communication the knowledge and experience of all the movements that nationally and internationally work in one way or another for the ethnic integration of the peoples.
e. To link the encouragement and support to all national and international movements that fight for these objectives.	e. To reach all the levels to divulgate in an interactive attitude with knowledge of cause, the arguments of the base.

Among some strategies developed by CICUN were conferences, seminaries, film projections, poetry recital; homages to black intellectuals and artists such as Alejando Duran, Candelario Obeso, Joerge Artel, Teofilo Potes; held novels, short stories and poetry competitions; Amir Smith Cordoba handed over CICUN's newspaper, Presencia Negra, to blacks walking on streets. And CICUN celebrated several receptions to welcome delegates and well-known figures from the African diaspora.

One of these black figures was Muhammad Ali. In Nov. of 1977, Ali came to Colombia to celebrate an exhibition fight with mestizo Bernardo Mercado. This was a non-profit event for charity. Accordingly, CICUN held two meetings with Muhammad

Ali. These meetings became a spontaneous afrodiasporic encounters where the black experiences were shared. Muhammad Ali met CICUN members, and got to know the social, economic, political and cultural marginalized conditions of the Colombian blacks and of the areas they inhabit. Also, they agreed on the importance of a black university in Colombia:

> We talked about the need to create a university in the country that would allow us to rethink history, philosophy, geography, anthropology, and everything that, in one way or another, should show the black person linked to everything that has been the evolving character of peoples and humanity." (Negritud, 1977, p. 3).

According to the journalistic note, "Ali (...) promised to return in a not distant future, to have the pleasure of sharing (...) with the Colombian black family." (Negritud, 1977, p. 3). In this section, I will concentrate in two of these strategies that I consider of interests for the development of my arguments. They are a. Black Press, and bibliography productions; and b. the Cultural Seminars.

- Black Press and Bibliography Productions

De-subjugating the black culture and Identity came out of the creating of a black press. As the editor of Peesencia Negra, chocoano Carlos Calderon, states it, "Presencia Negra is a newspaper that was born for the struggle and defense of an oppressed race. Oppressed by the slavers of yesteryear, (...). Educating the sovereign is and should be the slogan of this era." (Newspaper. Presencia Negra. Carlos Calderon. 1979, p 12). Through this:

> "we seek, initially, to unify the black criterion at the national level. It is a counter strategy against the prevailing dispersion, since we cannot continue to accept that the problem of Chocó is estrange to that of Cartagena; the one of Uré different from the one of Tumaco; that of Puerto Tejada without any relation to that of Buenaventura; the one of San Adres so 'far' to the one of Colombia itself, when the black one is always black, no matter where they are." (Newspaper. Presencia Negra. Carlos Calderon. 1979, p 12).

CICUN Black press includes a journal "Negritud", a newspaper "Presencia Negra" and the publication of few books. All dedicated to affirming African history and its cultural legacies on the black identity under negritude realm. The journal "Negritud" was a short-lived publication. CICUN issued three numbers. The newspaper "Presencia Negra" lasted much longer. More than two decades since its first publication in 1979. It is obvious that these media outlets took their names from the negritude movements. The first, the journal, was named as the movement, Negritud, and the second paraphrases the journal "African Presence". Some of the journal features offer some ideas about the type of web of relations and collaborations constituted around CICUN black press.

For example, the director was Amir Smith Cordoba and sub-director Juan Vianney Mosquera. As editor appeared Adolfo Mina Balanta, and as assistants Mary Andrews, Rosa A. Uribe, Leonor Murillo, and Luis A. Catacolí. The journal of Negritud had an editorial board, composed by Rogelio Castillo C., José E. Murillo, Ndong Ondo A., Rafael Cortes V., Nina de Friedemann, Valentín Moreno S., Sebastian Salgado, Terry Hayes, Willy Caballero, Marco Realpe B., Manuel De Diego, Venancio Palacios, Ricardo Esquivia, and Pablo Rivas; special collaborators, Aquiles Escalante, José Consuegra, Miguel Caicedo, Tufik Meluk, Manuel Zapata O., Carlos Calderón M., and Santiago Pinto Vega. Several aspects can be analyzed here that make these people part of what I

call CICUN web of relation and collaborations.

First, Adolfo Mina Balanta and Manuel Zapata were two of the members that survived the El dia del Negro public event. They represent a historical continuation of the black counterpublics that started in 1940. Second, Manuel Zapata O, Adolfo Mina Balanta, Rosa A. Uribe, Carlos Calderón M, Tufik Meluk, Aquiles Escalante and Marco Realpe B belonged to what I call the Manuel Zapata Olivella´s platform. Also, they promoted the mestizo negritude project, except for Aquiles Escalante. Plus, Valentín Moreno S. appeared as part of the editorial board. In my opinion, the presence of these black political and intellectual figures means that despite their differences, debates and, in some cases, rivalries, black counterpublics and its wed of relations and collaborations did not evolved at the expenses of the other black public spheres.

Third, in the above list, I recognize the presence of white and mestizo scholars such as Nina de Friedemann, José Consuegra, and Tufik Meluk. And fourth, this list of collaborators represents each of the places that constitute the geography of the negritude. Then, the journal, and probably the newspaper, might have a significant circulation at the national levels, and in the Africa diaspora. The CICUN web of relations and collaborations includes representatives and distributors in Barranca: Pedro A. Saavedra, Barranquilla: Alejandro Zabaleta, Bucaramanga: Augusto López, Buenaventura: Hernán Caicedo C., Cali: Luis Dimas Zape, Cartagena: Petra Villalobos, Cúcuta: Cicerón Flórez, Medellín: V. Hugo – Farmacia Madrid, Pasto: Pedro Pablo Cabezas, Pereira: Daniel Oliver Mosquera, Popayán: Oscar García, Quibdó: Néstor E. Mosquera, San Andrés

Islas: Harry McNisch, Santa Marta: Basilio Peña Escobar, Tumaco: José A. Castillo, Tunja: J. Elías Córdoba V., and Villavicencio: Efrén Murillo in Colombia. Estados Unidos: Hugo Sandoval C., Venezuela: José Marcial Ramos G., Jamaica: Winston Davis, Brasil: Raúl Lody, Guayana: David A. Simpson and Washingtong: Robert A. Brown (Negritude, 1,2 and 3).

About the content of the journal, I found that most of the above black intellectuals and scholars published articles related to African History, African Culture and Legacies; Negritude; Black Culture and Identity; and Race and Racism in journal of Negritud. Presencia Negra's editor was Carlos Calderón Mosquera, and Smir Smith Cordoba as the director. Those who published in this newspaper were basically the same who published in the journal. The newspapers' content was like the journal. Presencia Negra covered similar topics as its editor states,

> "Presencia Negra only has commitments with history. With the pueblo. With the destiny. It will be a window open to creative and dynamic thinking. Its columns will tell the truth and from there we will be ready to inform, create and foster the spirit of a new nation that would operate in (…) the Colombian nation. If Black has done and is doing so much for the world in which Black lives, they should feel proud of being one." (Newspaper. Presencia Negra. Carlos Calderon. 1979, p 12).

For example, there are reflections and articles on African History, Culture and Legacies in Colombia. Black Culture and Identity; Race and Racism. Also, CICUN paid tribute to Diego Luis Cordoba, Jorge Artel, Fanon, Candelario Obeso, Jose Prudencio Padilla of Colombia and Martin Luther King, Malcom X, and Muhammad Ali, among others afrodiasporic intellectuals. The newspaper reports social, economic, cultural and

political problems of blacks in Colombia and in the Africa Diaspora. The content of the newspapers includes some of the following sections such as “Aprender a Ser Negro” (To Learn to be Black) where remarkable black political and intellectual figures were highlighted. This section also includes some mestizos who contribution to the black cause was considered significant; national and international news and culture invents; a section where Amir Smith addressed topics of his interests such as racism, black culture and identity, Africa, etc.; an editorial section led by Carlos Calderon Mosquera, and the last page was dedicated to black comics.

- Bibliography Productions

Three books were produced by CICUN. There were: a. Cultura Negra y Avasallamiento Cultural, in 1980; Vida y Obra de Candelario Obeso, 1984; and Vision socio-cultural del negro en Colombia in 1986. The first book is an extended and elaborated version of some of the article published in the journal Negritud. This book develops arguments about the existence of a black culture despites the European cultural subjugation (see Smith Córdoba, 1980). Let me reproduce a segment of the book’s introduction for the reader to have an idea about the subjects that this book engages in:

> To change the face of Africa and of the black plagued by multiple misconceptions, is to look with new lenses at a historical, geographical and cultural reality that is positively opened, and Colombia (...) cannot remain detached from these events. Hence, the need to advance courses, seminars, conferences, films and all kinds of projections that help us understand what happens to be the true meaning of the presence of the Negro in America and particularly in Colombia.”(Smith-Córdoba, 1980, p. 14).

The second book, Vida y Obra de Candelario Obeso, is dedicate to the life and work of Candelario Obeso. This was the result of the fifth Cultural Seminar held in Mompox (see below) where Candelario Obeso's literature contributions was the subject of discussion. For CICUN, the literature work of Candelario Obeso was "the expression, the reflection, a sample of the way and the environment in which our people develop; they are a replica of the feeling of the black, brought to the sublime expression of art." (Newspaper. Presencia Negra. Feb.-Mar, 1983, p. 10).

Finally, the third book, Vision socio-cultural del negro en Colombia, is a compilation of studies produced by Amir Smith Cordoba, N'dong Ondo Andeme, Carlos Calderon Mosquera, Manuel Zapata Olivella, Antonio Araujo Calderon, Dolcey Romero, José Manuel Herrera Britto, Rito Llerena Villalobos, Ciro Quiroz Otero, Jacobo Pérez Escobar and Emiliano de Armas Mitchel. These scholars discuss themes like" a. Integration and black Identity in Colombia; b. the African diaspora; c. integration of blacks in Colombia. Historical reason of their Integration; d. Integration and mestizaje of the blacks in Colombia; e. racial discrimination in Barranquilla; f. Black in the Colombian culture; i. Survey of the ancestral legacies in Vallenato music; j. democracy and Negritude in Colombia; and k. the need to articulate a national black organization (Smith-Córdoba, 1986).

- Seminars for the Education and Training of School Teachers on Black Culture

CICUN led and organized five (5) annual academic and cultural seminars named

"Seminarios Sobre Formación y Capacitación de Personal Docente en Cultura Negra" (Seminars for the Education and Training of School Teachers on Black Culture), between 1978 and 1983. The seminars sought to academically systematize "everything that in relation to Africa helps rescue the personality of a man, of a 'race' of a culture." (Relape-Borja, 1977). These seminars sought, among other objectives, to; a. destroy in one way or another the myths of the white 'supernatural' and (...) to contribute (...) to a new interpretation of the historical past of these peoples (Africa and blacks in America); b. demonstrate scientifically what has been the evolving character of African societies and the political, social, economic and cultural motives that shape in the black continent, a historical-geographical enclave with repercussions in other areas, societies and continents; and c. train teachers and cadres.

The structure of the seminars was as follow. Each Seminar lasted, approximately, six to 12 days. They sought to discuss and debates subjects on African History, Slave System, Africa-Colombia relationship, Black Culture, Negritude, race and racism, among other themes. The seminars aimed to bring together groups of school teachers and notable blacks, and some white; there were seminar leaders or instructors who gave lectures on specific topics or presented their research results to their audiences: those who became new cultural political cadres. Then, when the seminar starts and the instructors give their lectures, the audiences were usually divided into discussion teams: a. Philosophy; b. History and Geography; c. Social Anthropology; and d. Linguistic, Art and Culture.

The first Cultural Seminar took place in 1978, between Oct. 15 and 21. Pinto

Vega led this seminar in Bogotá (Newspaper. El Tiempo, Oct. 16, 1978, p. 8b). Among attendees were famous and remarkable black intellectual, artists and politicians such as Manuel Zapata Olivella, Juan Vianey Mosquera, Amilkar Ayala, Julio Ramírez Jesús, Lácides Mosquera, José Manuel Herrera Britto, Maho Chuha, Néstor Emilio Mosquera, Francisco Mena, Antonio Patió Rochelli, Jaime Atencio Babilonia, Rogelio Castillo Candelo, Yosu Lezama, Rosa Amelia Uribe, Jose Consuegra, Nancy Motta, Alejandro Zabaleta, Santigo Pinto Vega, Marco Realphe Borja, Saturnino Caicedo, Tufik Meluk Aluma, Fernando Romero Torres, Carlos Calderón Mosquera, and Nina de Friedemann (Newspaper. El Tiempo, Oct. 16, 1978, p. 8b).

Table 14
14. Cultural Seminars' Objectives and Themes

#	Objectives	Themes
1	a. To define areas of research investigation on black identity. b. To raise awareness of the great condition of the black population. c. to study the long journey of the African people in the Americas (slavery, republicanism).	- Africanity. - Pre-history, distribution and decolonization of Africa. - Contemporary African society. - Politic and Africa-Colombia relationships.
2	a. To define areas of research investigation that helps CICUN move forward. b. To systematize studies and experiences that can contribute to the elaboration of adaptive methodologies to teach. c. To train teacher and cadres. d. To destroy the white super national superiority.	- Myths of the white supernatural superiority - The development of blacks in African societies - Slave trade - Colonial exploitation - Economic boycotts against post-independent Africa

3	a. To raise black awareness of their historical role and cultural values as important as those of any other man. b. To encourage blacks to commit tasks and jobs that must do with their cultural development. c. To take advantage of the experiences of national and international centers on black culture research. d. To encourage black people to participate in the country's activity, such as commercial, industrial, public and private investments, etc.	- Verification of the black contributions and participations in national life (e.g. techniques such as works in mining, grazing and agriculture). - African philosophy and oral culture. - Black presence (e.g. economy, social, culture, politics, artistic and religiosity).
4	a. To raise black awareness of their historical role and cultural values as important as those of any other man. b. To encourage blacks to commit tasks and jobs that must do with their cultural development. c. To take advantage of the experiences of national and international centers on black culture research. d. To encourage black people to participate in the country's activity, such as commercial, industrial, public and private investments, etc.	- Political Participation of blacks - Educational and economic situations - Negritude - Exploitation of blacks - How to achieve social changes
5	a. To rescue and promote our historical and cultural values from the systematic indifference imposed by national ingratitude. b. To provide a better and more adequate knowledge of the history of black people in Colombia. c. To collect and systematize everything that can contribute to a more adequate interpretation of the black contribution in national life. d. To redefine frameworks for a better understanding of the black contributions in the construction of the national identity. e. To use and encourage everything that contributes to the participation of the blacks in national life.	- Candelario Obeso: his life, work, historical role and repercussions. - Evaluation and systematization of his work, and practical lessons of Candelario Obeso historical significance.

In Oct. of 1979, CICUN held its second cultural Seminar in the INCCA

University of Colombia, Bogotá. This seminar was attended by Joge Artel, Eudes Asprilla, Marco Realpe Borja, José Francisco Socarrás, Carlos Patiño Rosellí, Alberto Mendoza Norales, Delia Zapata Olivella, Luz Marina Barreto, José Manuel Herrera, Jaime Barranco, Amir Smith, among others. Also, for this seminar singers and dancers such as Christopher, Nemesio, Amparito, Toto "la Momposina", Leonor Gonzales Mina, Mario Gareña, Tamara, Piper pimienta Díaz, Jose Manuel Azael Muñoz y Manuel Herrera B ("El Pachanga") participated in the seminar (Newspaper. El Tiempo, Oct. 8, 1979, p. 3a).

The third Cultural seminar took place in Barranquilla, in Oct of 1980. Attendees were Manuel Zapata Olivella, Wiston Caballero, Nina de Friedemann, Luz Colombia de Gonzales, Blair S Pupo, Edgardo Aguirre Gusman, Dulcey Romero, Alberto Mendoza Morales, Myrian Dias de Pardo, Leo Ortiz, Amir Smith Cordoba, Idalid Ayala (Newspaper. Presencia Negra. 1980, p. 5). The fourth Cultural Seminar was celebrated in 1981, Valledupar. The participants were Jose Consuegra, Jaime Atencio Babilonia, Carlos Calderón Mosquera, Luz Colombia De Gonzales, Dolcey Romero, Manuel Zapata Olivella, Emiliano De Armas, N´Dong Undo Ándeme, Nancy Motta, José Manuel Herrera B., Ricardo Rocha, Edgardo Aguirre, Tomas Darío Gutiérrez, Aquiles Escalante, Winston Caballero, Orlando Fals Borda, Aureliano Perea Aluma, Jacobo Pérez Escobar y Amir Smith Córdoba.

The fourth Cultural Seminar was celebrated in 1981, Valledupar, in the Colombian Caribbean. Attendees were Jose Consuegra, Jaime Atencio Babilonia, Carlos Calderón Mosquera, Luz Colombia De Gonzales, Dolcey Romero, Manuel Zapata

Olivella, Emiliano De Armas, N´Dong Undo Ándeme, Nancy Motta, José Manuel Herrera B., Ricardo Rocha, Edgardo Aguirre, Tomas Darío Gutiérrez, Aquiles Escalante, Winston Caballero, Orlando Fals Borda, Aureliano Perea Aluma, Jacobo Pérez Escobar y Amir Smith Córdoba (Newspaper. El Tiempo. Oct 20. 1981, P 6ª). And, the fifth cultural seminar was held between January 12 and 16, Mompós, in the Colombian Caribbean, 1983. Participants were basically the same that attended previous seminars.

The seminars' objectives reflect the philosophical principles of the de-subjugating black culture described above. Table 14 summarizes these principles. The seminars emphasized on the relationship between African culture and legacies with blacks in Colombia (Objective 1); the raising of a black awareness about racial discrimination (Objective 4); the black contributions to the nation (all objectives); the desire and encouragement to change academic frameworks to the studies of black culture and identity (objectives 1, 2 and 5); the African diasporic construction of black solidarity with experienced centers on the study of African and black cultures (Objectives 2 and 5); and the intention to pay tributes to black public figures that have positively contribute to the black communities (Theme 5).

Another conclusion I can make from the participant lists is that they were predominantly academic oriented scenarios where participants from the social bases of the black community were limited, to say the least. From the foundations of the seminars, we can observe that they were designed to train teachers on black culture which excludes afrocolombians with no formal education. In fact, if we observe the objectives of CICUN

or of the cultural seminars, there is no reference that lead me to think of the needs or interests that relate to social and materials conditions. For example, land, housing, employments, poverty, etc. On the other hand, these seminars were mostly led by males. No more than 5 women participated as speakers. In any case, I could not find any cultural or political agenda that includes any women rights or women's recognitions.

The seminars also covered several debates that enrich our understanding of black counterpublics. The seminars debate between what it meant to have a black identity that resisted mestizaje. That is, the attendees considered that black identity is a living expression of African cultural legacies that did not allow what the siblings Zapata Olivella were promoting: mestizaje. Indeed, attendees considered mestizaje a European strategy to eliminate black identity:

> "(…) to affirm an identity responsible for showing that the social structure of the black owns patterns that have been strengthened thanks to their ancestral beliefs that served not only to agglutinate them in many cases but thanks to such risky convictions within the framework of African customs black was able to resist the abstract indoctrinating 'syncretism' that the West showed him." (newspaper. Presencia Africana. N 1, Jan-Feb. 1979, p. cover page and 2).

Here, we can observe how this CICUN seminar made a distinction from previous black projects. Their conception of Negritude shows a black identity from an Afrocentric perspective of negritude. Black identity, then, is made up of cultural convictions and resistance inherited from Africa. So, their project is to affirm it to combat the abstract syncretism that western civilization had been indoctrinated for years on blacks. As you can see, this construction of blackness has nothing to do with the idea of mestizaje that

we found in previous projects of the negritude described above. The debate reached its peak when Manuel Zapata Olivella, stated,

> who can prevent me from defending my white side of myself". At that time, the attendees expected that N'dong Ondo Andeme, an African attendee to the seminar, would make a statement so that the audience could understand how the lack of identity can harm." (Newspaper. El Tiempo. Oct. 20, 1981, p 6a).

Thus, this debate re-enforced an afrocentric construction of negritude that gained protagonism during the 80s. From this point on, the task of rescuing "our [African] culture must be the indispensable condition for the acquisition of a liberating conscience" free from indoctrinating syncretism that the West has imposed upon blacks (Newspaper, Presencia Negra. Dulcey Romero. 1981, p. 11-12). This afrocentric perspective would later find in cimarron organization another site and forms of black politics where it would get similar and different components of blackness.

At the turn to the 80s, CICUN seminars would shows signs of class and negritude discourses conflicts. Negritude by negritude started to reach its own limitation to describe the social conditions of black communities in Colombia. This occurred in two senses. The first, the idea that negritude must be understood by its articulation to class became more and more a predominant need to develop. Some activists of CICUN became more and more aware of "in our time more than ever, the exploiter is not identified by color; but, by being the owner of the means of production, against the salaried labor[s]. The exploiter as the exploited is multicolored." (Newspaper, Presencia Negra. Dulcey Romero. 1981, p. 11-12). Thus, the conception of "uniting the fight against racism

together with the fight against capitalism" became a constant expressed concern among CICUN members.

This lead us to the second problem identified in the development of the negritude discourses in CICUN and Colombia. This was the time for "no more academy and for the social organization of the people." (Newspaper, Presencia Negra. Dulcey Romero. 1981, p. 11-12). Some CICUN members understood that "The participation of blacks in political activity is almost null, since it manifests only in suffrage. The cause that motivates blacks to vote is not determined by the search for a solution to all the problems of their ethnic group. The study suggests the constant practice of clientelism and the purchase of votes." (Newspaper, Presencia Negra. Dulcey Romero. 1981, p. 11-12).

The solution for this was to "organize housing committees, cooperative forms, social clubs, schools, and universities. Create libraries with material from the black culture. Communal action committees, organize conferences on black culture, sports competition" among the black masses (Newspaper, Presencia Negra. Emiliano A. De Armas Mitchell. 1981, p. 6). Thus, in the fifth cultural seminar, the attendees created a "pro-national committee for the development of black communities, composed by senator of the republic Aureliano Perea Aluma; sociologist Amir smith Cordoba; anthropologist Winston Cabalero S: educator Dulcey Romero and Arial Lozano Murillo; administrator Emiliano de Emiliano A. De Armas Mitchell, (…)." (Newspaper, Presencia Negra. N 33 Feb-Mar 1983, p. 4). This shows then another turn black counterpublics would experience during the 80s. New sites and forms of politics would emerge criticizing these

sites and form of black politics that emerged during the 70s and they would propose sites and forms of black politics in connection to the black masses of Colombia. Another discursive framework would support this process. The African diasporic experiences coming from the United States would predominate among these new sites and forms of black politics.

CHAPTER 9
TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS ON NEGRITUDE

Black counterpublics, formed by different sites and forms of black politics, have always been a terrain of contestation. Since its consolidation, there have always been political and philosophical disputes about what the real political agenda of afrocolombians should be. In this chapter, I present some of the political and philosophical disputes and tensions that animated black counterpublics in the 70s. I present them as tensions that shaped the contours of the black counterpublics in Colombia.

1. De-folklorizing Black Culture

By 1950, folklore was the terrain of symbolic representation where black intellectuals contested racial domination in Colombia. As it was described above, black intellectuals such as Rogelio Velazques, Aquiles Escalante, Dalia Zapata Olivella, Antero Agualimpia Mosquera, Madolia de Diego, Mercedes Montaño, Leonor Gonzales Mina, Alonso Sandoval, Teófilo Potes, Alfonso Córdoba Mosquera, Margarita Hurtado, among others, used Palenque Literario (music, dance, oral tradition, and folkloric studies) not only to re-value and affirm black culture or black folkloric expressions but also to reveal racial dynamics in a context where white- mestizo intellectuals defined black culture as backward, savage, in a word, with no value and denied the existence of racism in Colombia. Through the 60s and 70s, what I call black politic of folklore became moderately visible and institutionalized by the presence of black folkloric expressions in folkloric studies, journals, academic institutions, folkloric groups and bands in several

places of the geography of the negritude and public institutions; and the realization of public performances in public cultural events such as festivals in Guapi, Buenaventura, Ibague, Manizales, Barranquilla, Cali, etc.

As I described above, since around the 60s, folklore became folklorized by four paths. First, folklore lost its academic value at the expenses of the social sciences. Second, folkloric expressions then became exotic as result of its own philosophical principles. That is, the subject of study in folklore was those traditional and authentic expressions that correspond to the past of a community. Then, These expressions were assumed to be preserved in their fixed original and natural forms as they represent the dying culture of the peasants, indigenous and rural communities due to the industrialization (Miñana B., 2000). Third, folklore became an instrument of politics. Political candidates used it for their political campaigns. In this realm of politics, folklore function as entertainment. And forth, this idea of folklore as entertainment was re-enforced by the economic market and advertisement. Here, folklore passed from being a science to become a spectacle or show of entertainment.

In the case of the black communities, the forklorization of their black culture became racialized by representation and stereotypes. Thus, black culture came from being exclusively considered as “no culture”, *like backward culture,* as the opposite of the white and mestizo’s high culture and fine arts, to be folklorized by racial stereotypes. How? White and mestizo society recognized black culture in a stereotypical way. If white-mestizo intellectuals and politicians saw black dance and music as savages, over

sensualized and exotics; religiosity and traditional medicine as witchcraft; the legacy of African languages as dialects; and blacks a lazy, criminals, etc. (Wade, 1993); now, during the 70s, they saw black culture as exotic folkloric expressions, and blacks were perceived as well-equipped and expressive dancers, which in fact denied a whole history of racial struggles, cultural resistance and contributions to the nations. For example, when talking about blacks, an immediately association with music and dance was made as an essential characteristic of the black identity, "It can be said that music accompanies black people from birth to death. Both, black and music, seems indivisible." (Newspaper. Mauro Cabrera. El Tiempo, Agut. 19, 1977, p. 12). In this sense, folklorization of the black culture shewed black artists as exotic. As I will show below, the folklorization of the black culture brought around a lot of tensions within the black counterpublics. Thus, I want to highlight some of the debates that this "racial inclusion by exclusion" brought about. I will present these tensions by describing a. the stylization of the black dance and music; b. Negra no Bailes Más; and c. Black folklore as black politics.

-The Stylized Black Dance and Music

In this context, black cultural gained some recognition and visibility through the folklorization of their black cultural expressions; opinion shared by some black activists at the time, "We saw it as a hypocritical way of acceptance by the white or mestizo majority of this country, (…)." (Phone call interview. Dulcey Romero, 2016). Leonor Gozales Mina- "La Negra Grande de Colombia"-, Sonia Bazanta Vides-Totó la Momposina-, the siblings Zapata Olivella, Alejo Duran, among others, were very much

visible at the time in the white and mestizo public spheres. Leonor Gonzales Mina became an actress performing roles as mammies in TV soap operas. The siblings Zapata Olivella performed folkloric dance and music on white stages and parks, nationally and internationally. Over the year, Zapata Olivella's performances became more and more perceived as ballet-like.

Their dances and musical presentations lost a lot of what the "original black folkloric expressions" were. They became stylized (Estilizadas) folkloric expressions, which is a form of modernizing those local and rural dances to fit into the tastes of the urban consumers. Stylized dances or music means that those traditional dances and music that local afrocolombians played in their rural areas just for their enjoinment or for religious practices now become a form of choreographies or ballet dances. The cloths, moves and styles are modernized with new instruments and colors, etc. Then, these stylized forms of black folkloric expressions left aside what was perceived as the original black cultural traditions. So, the local expressions become spectacles or shows in the cities, and their performers entertainers. For example, observe how the newspaper narrative describes the performance that Leonor Gonzales Mina held years ago, "Her merit, of this splendid artist who is Leonor Gonzales Mina, is to fill with her voice, her sensitivity, her joy and her versatility, the whole program and have a couple of good dancers - Cornelio Perea and Malibu. Esteban Cabezas, author of the libretto and direct of the show, points a good goal. The public applauds a lot and with good reasons." (José Prat, newspaper, El Tiempo, Agust 21, 1975, p 5a).

Then, there was an explosion of not only urban afrocolombians but also whites performing local and rural black dances learned from schools and institutions such a IPC. Several groups were formed based on these stylized forms of black folklore. In Cali, the Carmen Lopez's folkloric group in the University of Valle is a clear example of this cultural trend. She, Carmen Lopez, was a black woman born in Cali, studied dance and ballet in the IPC. Then, in the 70s, she opened a folkloric group in the University of Valle. She passed away but her group is still active. She taught and performed stylized forms of black folklore for many years there. Her encounter with Olivia Arboleda and Samuel Caicedo, leaders of a folkloric group in the "University Libre" reflects the tension between those dancers who learnt stylized black folkloric expression in the cities and those who came from the rural areas. Olivia Arboleda and Samuel Caicedo came to Cali in the late 70s. They were surprised to see how people in Cali did not know anything about black culture. Consumers in Cali were used to enjoying the styled forms of black folklore. The one that Carmen Lopez taught and performed for many years. When Olivia Arboleda and Samuel Caicedo performed in Cali for the first time, their styles were not accepted by the audiences. In fact, the audience made fun of them:

> The IPC and the Universidad del Valle performed and they danced currulao. (...) with Carmen López; (...). When I arrived [she] was already the director of Universidad del Valle. (...) Then, when we danced the audience whistled (chiflar) us; they whistled us because we danced with marimba, we dance (..) a very authentic thing; (...) and I get under the stage to cry and I tell Samuelito (...) I'm going to go away from here because I did not come for these people, these whites mock me; and Samuelito answered me: we are not going to go away Olivia and cry, because they are mocking us because they do not know; when they realize, Samuelito told me, that we are the ones who have the truth, everyone will ask us to teach them." (Interview. Olivia Perea. Cali. 2016).

The time proved that Samuel Caicedo was right. Olivia Arboleda and Samuel Caicedo became very famous and their style was recognized as the original black culture. Going back to the point, during the 70s, black people discussed what black culture and folklore was. For cultural activists such as Leonor Gozales Mina, and the siblings Zapata Olivella, they were representing black culture although a much modern form. However, for cultural activists such as Olivia Arboleda and Samuel Caicedo, what they were doing was misrepresenting what they considered was the original black culture: "why if they danced Pacific [region style] but they did not have Pacific as authentic as the one we danced." (Interview. Olivia Perea. Cali. 2016).

- ¡Negra no Bailes Más!

"Negra no Bailes Más" translates literally "black woman don't dance anymore". It is a poem written by Eduardo García Moreno. It was published in 1978, in the CICUN's journal Negritud. This poem is very much representative of the sentiment expressed by black activists about the hegemonic construction of black folklore. Remember that since around the late 60s, black folklore became part of the political campaigns; plus, its stylization. In addition to these, performances such as those realized by the siblings Zapata Olivella, Carmen Lopez and others, re-enforced racial stereotypes about the ability of afrocolombian to dance music. Seeing a black person dancing was a spectacle. The problem was, and still is, that the only quality that white and mestizo people recognize about afrocolombian was exactly that, their dancing abilities. Thus, this spectacularity of blackness denies other aptitudes, qualities and skills of the

afrocolombians that are not related to music or sports. For this, I think that the poem invites afrocolombians to stop dancing and to leave white people with their desire up. Let me reproduce a fragment of it to appreciate the lyric and its significance as a metaphor to call dancing out as a form of stereotype:

> -¡Negra, no bailes más!
> Detén tu ritmo cautivador.
> Tus caderas. Tu vaivén. Tu menear.
> Todos ahora te miran, te acribillan con sus ojos.
> Ahora te exigen, te lo piden con chillidos.
>
> ¡Negra, no bailes más!
> Deja que besen el suelo.
> Que deliren y que ardan sus deseos
> Negra… ¡Déjalos con las ganas!
>
> - Black women, do not dance anymore!
> Stop your captivating rhythm.
> Your hips. Your swing. Your wiggle.
> Everyone now looks at you, they acribillan you with their eyes.
> Now they demand you, they ask for it with cryness
>
> Black woman, do not dance anymore!
> Let them kiss the ground.
> That they delirious and burn their desires
> Black woman... Leave them with the desire! (Eduardo García Moreno).

In my opinion, this poem is a wonderful piece that reflects perfectly the complexity of the black culture in the 70s. First, CICUN published an old form of repertoire that emerged since the 1900s with Candelario Obeso and Jorge Artel: literature. Second, it portrays the acceptance of black folklore; the emotions that black dances produce in white people; a desire for the exotic and sensual dances. In other words, the poem describes the inclusion by exclusion of the blacks; third, the poem is a call out to stop such as form of stereotype; and fourth, it gives some form of

empowerment to afrocolombians to the extent that it recognizes that afrocolombian can leave white people with their desire of more black dancing. However, we can argue that the poem reproduces a gender stereotype as of black men cannot be also a dancer and dances is exclusively of black women.

In general, Soweto and CICUN members were serious critics of the black folklore. For example, from a Marxist perspective, Eusebio Camacho questioned the way in which politicians used folklore in Colombia. He observed that the type of black folklore promoted in Colombia functions as a form of domination, "With this festival [of Buenaventura] the cultural patterns that survive of the communitarian traditions are distorted, the costumes are crushed and ridiculed and they are induced to adopt strange cultural impositions when feeling popular." (Bulletin, Soweto.N 5, Agust 8. 1978). In the sense line, CICUN members questioned the racial stereotypes that white and mestizo people reproduce with their perception of black abilities to dance. In fact, some of them offer clues to understand the social phenomena like the one that occurred when Olivia Arboleda and Samuel Caicedo performed black folkloric dances in the Universidad del Valle. She states,

> Something happens within white subjectivity when they realize that there is a world of values that does not belong to them and the perception of values of positive signs scape from their control, these values are only bearable if they are folklore, (…) fun, rhythm, sex and sensuality. Beyond this, if what is involved is a historical, intellectual or cultural location, whites feel immediately segregated. (Kremnitzer, 1978, p. 11).

The inclusion by exclusion means exactly what Raquel Kremnitzer expresses

above. White and mestizo people accept blacks if these perform or behave as white and mestizo people expect them to act. When black communities break down the boundaries stablished by racial stereotypes, white and mestizo people in Colombia do not know how to react. They end up rejecting what they see as different. Then, the Poem states it very well. “Negra no Bailes Más”. This is the critique that CICUN members raised to those who practice black folklore in ways that white and mestizo people like and expect. Black should not dance anymore,

> Black is not only drum, song, music, sport, dance and movements accelerated by the euphoric cadence of their rhythms; not in all these black shows much of everything that they have not been able to express otherwise. We shield ourselves, not in the good treatment that an artist or an athlete deserves; if we are new people for the whole world because black folklorists (dancers and singers) circumscribe what the whites want to see in us, we will stop them and tell them, no. (Smith-Córdoba, 1978, p. 7).

I think that critics of black folklore had a valid argument against those afrocolombians who reproduce racial stereotypes with their performances; Leonor Gonzales Mina, the siblings Zapata Olivella, and Carmen Lopez. These forms of black folklore may re-produce what Jesús Alberto García (1987) critiques around mid 80s. This type of black folklore reproduces a fake history where black culture is presented their cultural “components as isolated, ahistorical particles, without sense of time, its multiplicity and cultural creation were underestimated, fossilized and paralyzed in time in another invention called folklore, conceptually discriminatory to classify the civilizations Yoruba, Bantu, Ewe, Wolof, and its reinterpretations in the Americas.” (García, 1987, p. 167–169). Thus, they suggest that we should talk about black culture, instead. “With Black Culture, we seek to create a national conscience that allows black people to affirm

an ancestor," (Smith-Córdoba, 1977a).

- Black Folklore as Black politics

Despite these critiques, cultural and folkloric activists still saw black folklore a form of politics. The siblings Zapata Olivella could be a case in point. Specifically, Manuel Zapata Olivella had an understanding of black folklore different from his critiques. For instance, his conception of oral tradition kept its radical and liberating understanding as Rogelio Velásquez one proposed back in 1940s. He saw oral tradition as the resources of the black memory to write a liberated history told by the oppressed:

> The written document is almost always the language of the master. (…). The oral tradition has a liberating connotation, the dramatic voice of the humiliated, whose history has been distorted and proscribed. (…); oral tradition in our countries dynamically preserves philosophy, behavior and the ideal of the oppressed. (M. Zapata Olivella, 1983, pp. 123–124).

In the same line, Lozano Murillo suggests that folklore is a valid and important vehicle for black identity. He states, "Knowing our folklore and knowing how to interpret it as the maximum cultural expression of the people, is another way of fighting in our favor, which without a doubt is and will be decisive for the achievement of our real identity." (Newspaper. Presencia Negra, Agust-Sept, Lozano Murillo, 1980, p. 7). The experience of the group La Minga is very significant to my argument. Well influenced by left intellectuals such as Oslando Fals Borda, Micheal Tausisg, Jaime Atencio and Gustavo de Roux, they used black culture within the Marxist framework to mobilize black communities in the north of Cauca. For example, in the early 80s, they held a

public cultural event where they presented a book wirtten by leftist black professor Jaime Atencion. This book was the result of a research in the north of Cauca and it discribes the cultural and local songs called “Alabanzas al niño Dios”.

> we launched the book, he (black anthropologist Jaime Atencio) wrote about alabaciones del Niño Dios. We did in Puerto Tejada and the group La Minga did it, very interesting because they were not texts from outside (foreign) but our own, from here. Then Jaime spoke about verbal art, [divine] adoration. As students at that time, we promoted the theme of adoration in Villarrica, (…). (Interview. Guillermo Mina, VillaRica. 2015).

This type of events must be understood within the context of the Participatory Action Research promoted by Orlando Fals Borda:

> Orlando Fals Borda insisted that it was important to rescue the story that was probably lost, even lost until very recently, because someone asked people who was his grandfather and people did not know, but there were some vestiges that one could try to rescue and we began to work on the perspective of rescuing stories and that started like that and that helped a lot the text of Mateo Mina. (…) the first works we did with people were reading the book and analyzing; there was enough interest from young people to develop a process of protest where the issue of the defense of the land became very important because in the north of Cauca there was already a phenomenon of expansion accelerating the cultivation of sugarcane to the south and that had been rapidly deteriorating peasant economies and we had seen that with people. (Interview. Gustavo de Roux. Cali. 2016).

Thus, La Minga members sought to recover the real meaning of the local black culture that were losing its real meaning because of the commercialization of the black culture in festivals (Interview. Guillermo Mina, Villarica. 2015). Then, black culture, assumed as popular culture, was politicized not only to create black community to defend the land (Interview. Gustavo de Roux. Cali. 2016) but also to claim an identity based on

cultural traditions. In this sense, Santiago Arboleda states,

> This rebirth or cultural awakening produced a kind of thinking that tended to the expansion and strengthening of artistic networks to reach expressions such as the "cultural front of the South of the Valley and the north of Cauca", between the late 70's and 80's , with a series of artistic-cultural encounters, which questioned the feminine and masculine black aesthetics; whose immediate consequence was the realization of the meetings of hairstyles, framed in festivals, fairs and other events."(Arboleda Q, 2016, p. 156).

Let me say one thing about the above comment. In my conversation with Guillermo Mina, he stated that what was significant about this event was that "it was not about foreign books but our own". This line expressed a feeling that some black in the left felt at the time. Some of them saw negritude discourses as an exported and imperialist discourse that did not have anything to do with the reality of blacks in Colombia. In this regard, I talked to Phanor Teran, a mulatto playwright. He is also Marxist supporter and active at the time. He had feuds with members of "La Minga". When the Cultural Congress in Cali, he reported the event in a newspaper that he worked for. According to him, members of La Minga criticized him for his report on the cultural event in Cali, "At the time, the radical movement of Afro-descendentism in the Universidad del Valle (La Minga) was also beginning, that started (...) and they saw this as a pro-imperialist thing, so they not only condemned this [Cultural Congress] but that they condemned me." (Interview. Phanor Teran, Tunía, Cauca, 2015). At the turn of the 80s, black politics of folklore became a terrain of contestation due to the multiple cultural trends that existed in it. Today, black politics of folklore has become a field due to the multiple cultural trends struggling one another to impose their own vision of black folklore. Of course, multiculturalism would bring more tensions that will be the subject of study in future

researches.

2. The Project of Mestizo Negritude under Scrutiny

The project of mestizo negritude had a lot detractors despite the admiration and recognition the siblings Zapata Olivella had among blacks. As I described above, this is a blackened conception of mestizaje different from the hegemonic idea of mestizaje. Its differences consist of the recognition of racial relation of power involved in the actual Colombian mestizaje. While the hegemonic idea of mestizaje whitens the presence of black and Indigenous communities, and denies the existence of racial structure in Colombia, the subordinated idea of mestizaje blackens the hegemonic conception of mestizaje by recognizing the historical, cultural, economic and political contributions of black and indigenous communities to the Colombian cultural identity, and the existence of a relation of power structured in racial dominance; relation of power characterized by the legacy of slavery, colonialism, racial exploitation and discrimination against black communities.

Despite these differences between mestizaje from above and below, the project of mestizo negritude was seriously critiqued by other black activists at the time. Critics covered different aspects of this project. For example, as to the Cultural Congress held in Cali, some Consejo Nacional members, who also recognized mestizaje as part of their own project, questioned the proposal to study the African in past to find African legacies in Colombia. Accordingly, it does not make any sense and it would be a waste of

intellectual effort to dedicate time searching for African legacies in today's Colombia: "Obviously, it is a look towards the past. An intellectual waste that is enclaved in the old mummies to comfort the negritudes of today." (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 129–130). According to this critique, searching African legacies in the past would not solve any racial problems and inequality at the present. So, they did not find any value in establishing a long-lived history of black culture in the Americas. For critics, Politics is the path to solve contemporary racial problems and inequalities; problems and inequalities that, as I showed before, were solved by electing black leaders in public offices (Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 129–130).

These critics did not consider important to connect black culture in Colombia to Africa and how the meanings of African legacies work to rediscover a different version and definition of blackness. I think that they were somehow trapped in a political pragmatism that did not let them see how the African legacies give power and raise racial consciousness among afrocolombians by recognizing the rich legacy of the cultural civilizations that existed in Africa and that the western has denied for long time. I understand that Consejo Nacional members came from a long tradition of black politicians that had obtained relatively success in the political realm. I am talking about Diego Luis Cordoba and Natanael Diaz. For some Consejo Nacional members, politics may be the perfect and concrete way to obtain similar success. black Culture does not impact afrocolombian life in the way they think politics may do it. Black culture will not solve the material condition of afrocolombians. So, this is the role Consejo Nacional's black political party is for:

> "Therefore, the Consejo Nacional faithfully interpreting the postulates and objectivities of its creation, cannot stop only in the task of looking for the past of the national negritudes to tell how they lived, but their primary task is to find out how they live and demand for them equal treatment. this i show the political branch of the Consejo Nacional exists, (…)."(Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 129–130).

In general, the project of mestizo negritude received many critiques because it was perceived as too culturalist-folklorist and academicist. The siblings Zapata Olivella and their web of relations and collaborations were perceived as composed by a black intellectual elite that does not have anything to do with Politics or the black social bases. These were a very common critique made by black activists and intellectuals during my fieldwork. Among those were Soweto, Palenque Cultural, La Minga and Frente de Liberacion Negra members. They remarked the lack of relationship between the sibling Zapata Olivella and the black social bases. For example, Dorina Hernandez from San Basilio de Palenque, states, "We saw there as a compilation, but it was more like I told you, we never felt that movement ... what we saw was that it was a more academic exercise, that it could also contribute, but it was not an organizational political dynamic." (Phonecall interview. Dorina Hernandez, 2016). Also, Juan De Dios Mosquera states, "because they did not think of popular social discourse, that is, they did not have a collective proposal." (Interview. Juan De Dios Mosquera. Bogotá2015).

These critiques are not easy to digest because I showed that how Delia and Manuel Zapata Olivella organized their folkloric dancing performances and plays with local and natural performers from the black communities. These are what we considered

now as black social bases, right? Then, I think that this critique was more about the lack of political participation and organization understood from the Marxist perspective at the time. This is the late 70s. This is the time when Pailo Fraire prosed the pedagogy of the oppressed, MOIR talked about the politics of the bare foots, Orlando Fals Borda proposed the participatory action research; in other words, this is the time when the idea of the vanguard is seriously questioned. Leftist organizations then considered that political participation must include the social participation of the social bases. Then, these new actors left behind the traditional conception of politics and assumed a new one that include political and social participation and, fundamentally, organization with the social bases, despite the contrition this new form of political organization brought about, "the case of cimarron (...) let's say that people learned that without creating a liberating thought they could not build a transformation and organization of people." (Interview. Juan De Dios Mosquera. Bogotá, 2015).

So, there is no data or indications that suggest that Delia and Manuel went on organizing collectively black populations to protest racial discrimination in Colombia. In fact, most of the people that belong to what I call the siblings Zapata Olivella's web of relations and collaborations were educated black and white persons. I can tell that their programs were exclusively about reclaiming a black cultural identity from a cultural and academic perspective. It was not about organizing black people in neighborhoods or rural areas to fight racism in Colombia. In concrete, their political and cultural practices (actions and discourses) were about cultural and folkloric performances and literature where blackness appeared as central and protagonist of their constructions of mestizaje.

In this sense, Zapata Olivella's critics may be right that the siblings mobilized a cultural process that did not include the collective organization of black communities as it occurred with the new sites and forms of black politics that emerged during the 80s, and more importantly, from the 90s on.

Thus, I think that Manuel Zapata represented an old form of cultural politics that did not involve the political organization of the black communities. Then, Soweto, Palenque Cultural, La Minga and some members of the Frente de Liberacion Negra, Kunta Quinte, turned themselves to a more political and social organization form of politics that questioned the old form of politics. On the other hand, my data suggest that we cannot reduce this conflict as a matter of generation. Because, "Once I told him (Manuel Zapata Olivella), his work is very elitist, (...), the time demands that we do a more collective work, (...) also go to the pueblo, because he focused to give lectures in universities, and the elite., (Phone call interview. José Eulicer Mosquera Renteria, 2016).

In other words, this is a question about who really could access to their materials, events and racial discourses. It seems that the audiences of their books, novels, plays, articles, and works were mostly those in the cities with the money to pay and buy the siblings Zapata Olivella's work and shows. Then, this left aside those black people in rural areas and whose economic conditions were not enough to afford their productions, in Bogotá (...) I was able to buy some of his works but that was bought by the basically white intelligentsia, (...); the few remaining in Colombia got bought by the elite and for the same cost that those publishers were selling. (Phone call interview. José Eulicer

Mosquera Renteria, 2016). Thus, their audiences were those educated whites and blacks who lived in towns and cities[44]. Then, although the siblings Zapata Olivella contributed substantially in breaking some forms of racial domination by affirming black culture and identity, somehow, they reproduced racial domination by leaving aside popular process of black organizations.

The idea of mestizaje was also questioned severely black activists. His idea of mestizaje or the three-ethnicity were too problematic for some black activists (see also chapter 8). For example, José Eulicer Mosquera remembers that in some encounters, they discussed about "The story of the blacks, but Manuel made us a little uncomfortable because we talked a lot about blacks and he talked about the issue of tri-ethnicity (mestizaje). And he argued that we are all from the tri-ethnicity." (Phone call interview. José Eulicer Mosquera Renteria, 2016). Juan De Dios Mosquera states that the siblings Zapata Olivella's construction of mestizaje was too problematic. He expresses that this idea leaves aside the problem of the skin color, "they claimed the population and culture that had been mestizo, but whitening is a political aspect that has nothing to do with the color of the skin." (Interview. Juan De Dios Mosquera. Bogotá, 2015).

I think that this is one of the most important critiques ever made against the project of mestizo negritude. It did not include a discussion about the skin color which is the cornerstone of racism. We cannot understand racial domination without reference to the role skin color plays in social structure and interactions. Specially in Colombia where

[44] I guess class differences have to do with this critique. However, I do not have substantial evidence to suggest it that way. That is why I suggest that it was about "access" to their cultural production.

the racial regime is not about the drop of blood rule. Thus, their conception of mestizaje did not make central a key aspect of blackness, black skin color. Colombian society may be mixed culturally and socially. However, in tern of skin color, black people were leave aside from this construction of mestizaje, "the approach as a sociological [and cultural] concept is different from whitening in racial terms, they are two different things; but that confuse our people, (…)." (Interview. Juan De Dios Mosquera. Bogotá, 2015).

Off course, although this project of mestizo negritude recognizes and affirms radically blackness in its conception of mestizaje, in term of skin color, blackness is still excluded. In a country where colorism has been central to our understanding of race, and racism, moreno, mullato, sambo and mestizo not necessarily mean black. In this sense, it might be hard for those critics to value this Project. Like Juan De Dios Mosquera denotes, it was too confusing and complicated to digest.

3. Class Struggles is not more Important than Race Struggle

I have a long and interesting conversations with Maoist theater player Ramiro Catacoli about his relationship with Bloque Uganda members. He said he met them many times and discussed issues about political struggles and the best strategies to move forward politically. He expressed in our conversation that "I met several times with them, but I told them that the class struggle was more important than the race struggle and we must solve this [racial] problem once this problem [of class] has been resolved against the state." (Interview. Ramiro Catacoli, Cali. 2015). I had similar conversations with those

who are or used to be black Marxist activist or supporter during the negritude movements. They all shared and expressed similar opinions about the political struggles. Like black Maoist Hernán Rodríguez, they considered that race struggles did not have any ideological base, it contributed to divide the social class and reinforced social inequalities instead of eliminating them. There were many discussions between militants in the negritude movements and Marxism because the class reductionism of the latter to understand political struggles. Black negritude activists considered that those were hard discussions, because,

> "do not forget that at that time communists believed that they were the only ones who were right about this. (…) Sancy Mosquera said it, and I was also with my cousin Víctor García Ayala. So, they said that the problem was not race, not the problem, but the class struggle. So, my opinion was that I agreed with them, but we had to add that we were also black and were discriminated against for being blacks." (Interview. Amílcar Ayala. Cali. 2105).

Maoist and, later, Consejo Nacional member Luis Enrique dinas Zape also remembers that he had heated discussions with white and black communists. He said that he debated about the "recognition of blacks in the struggle (…); and that the black man should be seen not as a simple sugar cane worker but as a person with capacity to decide about his future. That if we were not in the fight within Marxism it was because of the historical problems, not of principles, but because of historical limitations of which we were still a victim." (Interview. Luis Enrique Dinas Zape. Cali. 2015).

White Marxist union leader Fabio Ayala, who participated actively in the sugar cane strike in Rio Paila Mill in the mid 70s, reflected on the relationship between the left

and the black sugar cane cutters. He agrees that the left did not give significant attention to the needs and concerns of the black sugar cane cutters. He suggests that the former perceived the latter as amorphous mass who were not able to lead their own political process. Fabio Ayala remembers in the process of the strike,

> "A lot of interesting blacks started to come out in all these struggles and they started thinking about them from their culture, from their way of seeing the world, so many started coming here, you come [for the] Communist Party and you [come to the] Moir; and the black comrades got upset and said well why these want to take me here and there; and where is my culture; where my thought is." (Interview. Fabio Ayala, Tuluá. 2015).

During the 70s, the above description was very a common behavior on the part of the left. As Fabio Ayala puts it, the social bases or independent social organization or union organization went on strikes or protests, then the presence of the left were permanents. In the sugar can strikes, the CPP and Moir participated actively. There were several movements when these leftist organizations struggled to take the leadership of the strike by recruiting sugar cane cutters as their militants. However, as Fabio Ayala reminds us, they forgot to ask what black sugar cane cutters needed; what their demands, and thoughts were left out.

CICUN members also critiqued black and white Marxists. They considered that Marxists neglect the effects of racism against black communities as form of oppression. For CICUN members, class (economy) and race (skin color) are the systems that oppressed black communities in Colombia, not just the former or just the latter (see chapter 8). Accordingly, Marxists had an ideological flaw. They assumed Marxism as a

dogma when it should be a guide for political actions, “Many supporters of dogmatism have denied this truth: Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action, and they have done nothing but scare people with isolated words and phrases drawn from the Marxist texts.” (Kremnitzer, 1977, pp. 11–12). Thus, CICUN conclude,

> “That is why there are those who are quick to proclaim that, in Colombia, for example, there are no racial problems and they immediately conclude that it is racist and even reactionary to talk about Black Culture in Colombia. But the curious thing is that those who affirm such a thing, are not precisely those who have fought for the intellectual decolonization and the national autonomy of the country.”(Uribe, 1978, p. 27)

4. Black Oligarchy

Like the mestizo negritude project, Consejo Nacional was severely critiqued for its lack of political organization of the black social bases. For example, Guillermo Mina, leader of PCN in the north of Cauca, states that Consejo Nacional never made a demand in line with land distributions among afrocolombians, “They did not do fieldwork, they did not pass through here, (...). They never organized demands to recovery for the land.” (Interview. Guillermo Mina, Villarica. 2015). Both, white and black Marxists shared a critique. They saw Consejo Nacional members as “right-wing liberals, because the left is the one with the popular resistance, with the least favored class, (…).” (Interview. Hernan Rodriguez. Patía, Cauca. 2015).

Since the first Nacional Encounter in Cali, 1975, black Marxist activists criticized Consejo Nacional and revealed what the leadership of this collectivity wanted to

accomplish. An example of this critiques came from black Maoist Hernán Rodríguez. He called them out as black oligarchy, with capitalist and opportunistic mentality. “In conclusion (…). I believe that it is an opportunist cause, which aims to bring black professionals and intellectuals to power so that it can benefit from the exploitative system and enter the formation of a black oligarchy that, with its capitalist mentality, would be nothing different from the white oligarchy. (…).” (Hernán Rodríguez in Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 63–68). On this regard, black intellectual and activist Néstor Emilio Mosquera called them out the “bureaucrats of the black problem” in our conversation, “he (Valentin Moreno) was in that line, which I would call bureaucratic of the black problem.” (Phone call Interview. Néstor Emilio Mosquera, 2016)

According to these critics, there are many reasons that explain the way Consejo Nacional leadership was perceived as black oligarchy. First, they reduced racial problem in Colombia to the absence of black in public offices,

> the great majority of [black] leaders considered that by becoming part of the state, racism would automatically disappear, which was not the case; they conceived the racism of the state as the lack of a black minister, 2 black governors, 20 black mayors, eh ... maybe 2 black senators and 4 black cameramen. If that could happen overnight, then racism would disappear. (Interview. Edgar Ruiz, Pereira. 2016).

Second, for the leadership of the Consejo Nacional, there was not an agrarian or mining exploitation problems. Everything was about occupying public offices: For Valentín and the others there was no black peasant problem, there was no mining problem, there was no (...) a more cosmic vision to the problem. You cannot reduce the

black problem to being called minister (...); because when they name it the problem does not disappear. (Phone call Interview. Néstor Emilio Mosquera, 2016).

Third, black critics alleged that the politics of the Consejo Nacional contributed to racially dividing the social class. They saw it as a political instrument of the white oligarchy to hand over the proletariat class to the oligarchy,

> "we are handed over on a silver platter to the oligarchies and then faced with the harsh reality that we would have to restart our struggle. We would not get away with taking a few blacks to the corrupt bosom of the oligarchies. We have to watch over the bases, fight with revolutionary vision and not with the petty mind of utilitarianism." (Hernán Rodríguez in Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 63–68).

Fourth, Consejo Nacional leadership underestimated the pueblo; their intellectual capacities,

> "(…) I argued that this should reach the people, that if we talk to each other we would not do anything, that this did not transcend, that we should reach the pueblo. Then, [they] said that the professionals, but I told him that this is (...) everyone. (...) They underestimate the capacity of the black pueblo, they believe that the people are incapable because they have not reached the intellectual maturity that they have reached." (Interview. Luis Enrique Mina Zape. Cali. 2105).

For black critics, Consejo Nacional leadership just used the black populations just for their electorate and political purposes, "Let us not be confused or let ourselves be confused ... (...) preventing the black flags from being taken as a priority fight for the sake of a few blacks who want to get votes for the cause of the Liberal Party". (Hernán Rodríguez in Moreno Salazar, 1995, pp. 63–68).

Today, there are many sectors of the social movements that consider we should advance an agenda without paying attention to the State. They argue that black communities have survived historically without the presence of State, which I agree. They also state that any contact with the state must end up coopting the social movements, which impacts negatively our autonomy and independence. In my opinion, it is not appropriate to not think of occupying it. While I agree with critics of the Consejo Nacional, and share some concerns about the supposed loss of the black autonomy, I should say that as black community we must develop a radical strategy to occupy the Colombian State. It could be as collective process with radical political agendas. In Colombian, the state is a key actor. There are some laws and policies that could be mobilized much easier having black cadres within the state. The problems have been that those who can occupy public offices or state corporations have nothing to do with black communities. They have pursued their own interests. On the other hand, it has been difficult to launch a black political campaign racially defined. This is perceived as reverse racism. Then, a lot of black candidates end up campaigning multiracial or not exclusive black candidacies as I showed in chapter 7.

5. Negritude-centrism

CICUN organization was considered as one expression of the Afrocentrism in Colombia. Skin color, black culture and African legacies were the pillars that define black identity. Some questioned the strategy of Amir Smith Cordoba to call out blacks on the streets. They considered that this confrontational tactic was too radical and did not

correspond to the racial structure in Colombia,

> Amir Smith brought the black-white political discourse from the United States and that was mistake, which was there, but not here. When he cries 'black greets your black brother', he tried to make people recognize themselves like this and in the end people would slip away." (Interview. Juan De Dios Mosquera, 2015).

Amir Smith (...) the same people of ours ran away from him, that is, he had a very direct form, which clashed with the same people; the girls ran away from Amir Smith because they did not want to be identified as black. (Interview. Oscar Maturana, 2015).

Another critique relates was that CICUN did not do process of social bases formation. This was an academicist and culturalist project. Critiques that also applies to the siblings Zapata Olivella, "(…) I did not think much of it, and I even rejected it a bit ugly, (...) as it was a [cultural] organization it was just academics, of scholarly, academic people, but did not do work in the masses." (Phone call interview. José Eulicer Mosquera Renteria, 2016). As I mentioned before, the problem with academic dynamics is that somehow it becomes exclusive for those educated people; for those in the academia. Tiberio Perea states, "the meeting was based on texts of the founders of the negritude movements; then some people semi-illiterate, with economic problems will not have access or time to go to a library to look for those texts that were the basis." (Interview. Tiberio Perea, Bogotá. 2015). Plus, CICUN was critiqued for the lack of practical actions oriented to organize the black social masses. This was a critique that came from CICUN members. Dulcey Romero, who during the cultural seminars expressed the need to organize black community, in our conversation added,

> "No ... no, it is that the problem because for him (Amir Smith Cordoba) was cultural, he never wanted to give (...) the leap towards a political organization; he considered that from culture it was possible to achieve the changes that this country needed (...) [for him] the exercise of black communities to power [should be] through a cultural Movement. [for] That the Movement was broken." (Phone Call interview. Dolcey Romero, 2016).

The lack of social and political actions to organize the black social bases and organization was one of the serious problems CICUN faced. This culture project was strongly questioned for its apparently lack of political ideology. This critique came from inside and outside of the organization. From inside, members such as Santiago Pinto Bega states, "Politically, the blackness was not linked to any social movement, rather it was to the rescue of the cultural." (Phone call Interview. Santiago Pinto, 2015). From outside, black activists such as Juan De Dios Mosquera, Tiberio Perea, and Valoyes from a Marxist perspective questioned CICUN for its lack of political ideology formation. For example, Juan De Dios Mosquera states, "Cultural, we did not see it political, we saw it as imminently cultural and literary ... (Interview. Juan De Dios Mosquera, Bogotá. 2015). And Tiberio Perea also comments, "Basically, (…) negritude was the revaluation of blackness, no political approach was made, absolutely no political approach, (…)." (Interview. Tiberio Perea, Bogotá. 2015). This tension between academy and organizing the black social bases, and cultural and politic would fracture CICUN to the point that several groups that CICUN had in cities became now part of an emergent nacional organization that in theory, sought to organize the black social bases. Cimmaron led by Juan de Dios Mosquera,

So, (…) Amir (…) did not want to make a leap to convert the National Negritudes Movement a political option but simply to cultivate [the cultural] and, then, in that transit I attend a seminar in Bogotá, (...), convened by the Howard University, from there I met Juan de Dios Mosquera, I was seduced by his speech, because it was a rebellious discourse, half revolutionary and that started from international phenomena as a milestone for the formation of the Movement. We are talking about Mandela, we are talking about Angela Davis, we are talking about [Bantu Stephen] Biko, about Malcolm X; then the guy had a good speech; an organizational structure, and then we moved away from Amir's Atlantic Negritudes Movement, and we began to form Cimarron in the department of the Atlantic. (Phone Call interview. Dolcey Romero, 2016).

This is an example of what I have mentioned many time throughout this dissertation. The end of the 70s would mark a transition from negritude discourses based on black identity and culture toward a more radical discourse very influenced by the afro diasporic experiences in south Africa and the United States. Also, the 80s will be about organizing the black social bases as Dolcey Romero put it. What he describes happened in cities such as Cali, Bogotá, Medellin, Quibdó, Cartagena, Barranquilla, etc. Then, we cannot understand Cimarron emergence without the negritude movements. Paradoxically, later, Cimarron would face similar dilemmas and, like CICUN organization, chose to not participate in politics, “Cimarron was never in that line that we made the mistake of not having taken a few political positions at a time that was crucial mainly because of fear of Juan de Dios, he was opposed, it was a mistake, but it was not to have drawn the line of being completely independent outsiders from political parties.” (Interview. Edgar Ruíz,

Pereira. 2016).

This decision cost them a lot to Cimarron organizations. Like it happened to CICUN, members of Cimarron retired from this organization because of such decision. In this sense, there were some black Marxists at the time that now recognize the importance of a black political party. They knew that despites the problematic political agenda deployed by the Consejo Nacional, a political project oriented towards politics was necessary. From this perspective, some considered that "Speaking of Valentin [Moreno] at the time it was a progressive position for the time, at least called attention to a problem but [the problem was] it was a very limited." (Phone Call interview. Néstor Emilio Mosquera. 2016). Cimarron is still very active today. There are many things to say about this organization. The 80s is a rich period for the consolidation of the black counterpublics. This is something that we need to do soon. What scholars have said about Cimarron and the social organizations that led black counterpublics during the 80s have not been studied properly.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

I started this dissertation with a major debate that took place in 1977 among black intellectuals and activists. The debate involved Nestor Emilio Mosquera, Amir Smith Cordoba, Rosa Amelia Uribe and Jorge Artel. Each represents a cultural and political agenda different from one another. After my analysis, we can observe that Nestor Emilio Mosquera came from a liberal construction of black culture that did not let him see the claims that CICUN members were making about black culture. I think Nestor Emilio Mosquera forgot, and CICUN member reminded him, that culture as a set of material and spiritual values created by man." is also racialized by man. It does so with purposes of domination (Uribe, 1977, p. 29). That is why, I agree that there is a black culture in America" that were initially perceived as savage, backwardness and barbarian but with the negritude movements these stereotypical representations were contested by new positive understanding of black culture as inherited from Africa and African legacies and civilizations.

My findings suggest that the sites and forms of black politics that emerged during the 70s were the result of the historical construction of black counterpublics composed by black politics of folklore, de-Subjugating Black Culture, Black in the Left and Liberal negritude. Like any other black counterpublics in the African diaspora, these sites and forms of black politics got into moments of articulations, debates, and separations. They ran different and contradictory black political agendas (Marxism, liberalism and culturalism) that got them to debate ways to face racial discrimination in Colombia. However, they had in common an anti-racist agenda. Each wanted to affirm a black identity and to reveal racism in Colombia. My dissertation shows how these processes of contesting racialized constructions of blackness took place in Colombia. It was a long journey that started since the 1800. This led me to show how afrocolombians have participated historically in progressive movements that took place at their own historical moments. From Liberal, Marxist, literature, folkloric and popular cultural platforms,

afrocolombians have tried to mobilize their ideas, needs, interests and identities. Thus, this dissertation shows how we, blacks, have been very active in making blackness public in a nation that privileged a conception of mestizaje as the national identity and whose definitions deny the existence of black culture, black identity, and racism.

My finds suggest that the above sites and forms of black politics constituted what I call the alternative structure of black politics. This was a structure consisted of sites and forms of politics that through negritude discourses define black identity and culture, and what racism look like in Colombia. I show how each black public sphere produced a language to define black identity and to reveal racism. Black in the left subordinated race for using class discourses. For this group, if someone mobilizes racial struggles, he would divide the social masses. Black Marxist and socialist considered that class is more important than race. However, I show examples in which race as skin color determined solidarities between blacks and rivalries between whites and blacks in the left. The sugar cane cutter strike was crucial to see how black Marxists bridged communications between the left and black communities. For the former, black culture was another expression of the popular culture of the social masses.

For the liberal negritude, black identity was defined by skin color. It was crucial to identify the geographies, places and regions where black populations live. Black culture was understood as inherited from African legacies and civilizations. However, their definition of racism was reduced to the presence of blacks in public offices. The mestizo negritude promoted a black identity and culture as the result of the mixture between African, European and indigenous legacies and civilizations. Although, this definition of negritude presents similarities with the hegemonic idea of mestizaje promoted by the Colombian state, the mestizo negritude recognizes the existence of racism in Colombia. They proclaimed that this miscegenation was the result of years and years of racial discrimination in slavery and democratic republics. Through this domination, black and indigenous have been denied from the national symbols. The de-subjugating black culture stands on a more afrocentric perspective that recognizes black identity and culture

exclusive from an African legacy. They rejected mestizaje because it was a form of domination.

This alternative structure of black politics was materialized by tertualias, conferences, congresses, encounters and a black press. These were the sites and forms of articulations and separations of all these black political agendas. I show how tensions were raised by Marxists, liberal and afrocentric understanding of the black situation in Colombia and how they marked ruptures from one another. I must say that this structure of politics was not constituted by afrocolombian social masses. The needs, interests and demands here corresponds to a sector of the black population that had access to high education. Although, demands such a land distributions were brought up in national encounters held by the Consejo Nacional, what predominated were the needs, and demands to occupy public offices, to make black politic of folklore public and to de-subjugate black culture. Which are more related to black intellectuals than to the black masses' needs. In fact, if we pay attention to the scenarios where these tertualias, conferences, congresses, encounters and a black press took place, we can see that these were intellectual and political scenarios. The Consejo Nacional tried to articulate black masses' demands, but my finding suggests they did it for electoral purposes. The four sites and forms of black publics examined in this dissertation lacked processes of organizing the black masses with purposes of empowerment. Also, black women's demands and rights were not visible through their political and cultural agendas.

Like I found in my master thesis, politics should be understood as a *contingent and relational ensemble of actions and discourses* through which actors in difference positions negotiate power relation. Politics are contingent and relational because actors deploy tactics and strategies regarding the art of the possible (Hanchard, 2006). For example, I described how white and mestizo dominant groups, who possessed the control of the Colombian State, unfolded several state actions and discourses to preserve power by unifying Colombia as mestiza. Among their actions, the Colombian State promoted the Chorographic Commission, the 1886 Constitution, State institutions such as Ministry of National Education, National museums, State Journals, etc. and cultural programs such

as “cultural extension”, “Cultura Aldeana” and “cultural approach” to make white and mestizo related cultural practices live and to let black related cultural practices die.

To contest this racial project, black political intellectuals created a black counterpublics understood as a web of relations and spaces of collaborations between black musical groups, black folkloric dance groups, student groups, black folkloric choreographers, black poets, writers and novelists, black politicians, black diasporic relations and white allies. Thus, in a cultural and political context characterized by the dominant presence of class discourses, the crisis of the political system- National Front- and the mestizaje ideology, blacks found different and creative ways to contest the meaning of race in Colombia. Out of all the possibilities at hand, liberal and conservative parties, Marxist organizations and folklore, they created their autonomous organizations to sought to contest racism in two different dimensions of the reality: politics and culture.

The social dimension was dominated by class struggles with organizations or guerrilla groups, peasant organizations, etc. What is interesting to observe here is that each of these dimension of the reality (culture, politic and social) were contested or re-signified by black politics from inside. Thus, in the field of folklore I show black politic of folklore and, later, black culture. In the liberal platforms, I show the liberal negritude. In Marxist spheres, I show how black reconciled class and race by denying the latter or by leaving the organization and forming a black collectivity. For this reason, I can say that politics are ensemble of actions and discourses that dominants and subordinates create and combine to preserve or subvert the power relation and/or conditions of inequality.

This relational definition of politics also challenges our understanding of micro and macro politics from the subaltern point of view. Black counterpublics cannot be classified simply as an expression of a quotidian form of politics. It shares some elements that classify it into the macro politics types of expressions. It included face to face interactions, tertulias, conferences, Congresses and political campaigns. In other words, the type of strategies mobilized to affirm blackness and to reveal racism in Colombia combined micro and macro politics. Although decentralized, self-organized, heterogeneous and multi-oriented goals,

black counterpublics developed a form of politics that transcended the local and the private spaces. Black counterpublics were relational spaces that include state institutions, white dominated and autonomous black spaces. It networks the local, the national and the global levels. So, black counterpublics suggest that its interpretation should go beyond binary analysis that studies social phenomenon either by macro or micro analysis. For this reason, I propose a working definition of politics that assumes it as contingent and relational ensemble of actions and discourses through which actors in difference positions negotiate power relation in a given society and historical context. As I showed above, these actions and discourses involve macro and micro politics type of expressions; private and public spaces; local actions and spaces with global connections and relations.

A final comment should be about black culture. My findings suggests that the call for black culture unity is almost impossible to achieve as Hanchard (2006) and Walters (1997) sustain. Being culture a tool for black liberations (Fanon, 2004; Hanchard, 2006), culture by itself does not necessarily reconcile the tensions between economic, gender and political differences. As I show above, culture or black culture, understood as forms of representations and discourses, practices and symbols, can be the object of many political uses and purposes. In this dissertation, black culture was used to affirm mestizaje, liberal conception of blackness, popular culture and afrocentric construction of blackness. From this, although each of them is subordinated in one sense, each of them is also dominated in another. For example, due to the political and cultural context, black culture in its popular and mestizo forms were dominated or much visible in Marxist and institutional public spheres (MOIR, TV and Radio programs). Which, I imagine, impacts those beliefs that we were in a race-less society.

Likewise, the last two may reinforce the idea that the afrocentric construction of blackness is a reverse racism construction. In this scenario, a national black organization under a calling for black culture unity would mean the subordination of other's black experiences, identities and understanding of racism. That is, our pluralities and diversities. What the debate involving Nestor Emilio Mosquera, Amir Smith Cordoba, Rosa Amelia Uribe and Jorge Artel reflect is the multiple black positionalities in Colombia. Likewise, the existing

of several sites and forms of black politics mean, our multiple, local, regional and national experiences facing racism. Thus, we should keep in mind that, diversity and multiplicity within black communities is an ontological form of resistance (Escobar, 2008). If the racial state wants to dominate us through governmentality policies, that is, categories and definitions (Goldberg, 2002), the existing of multiple sites and forms of black politics, in plural, represents a form of resistance against racial categories that deny our pluralities and positionalities.

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